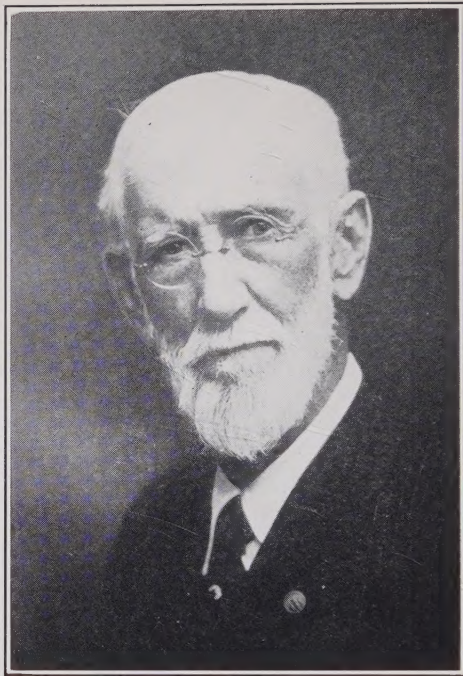


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The Story of
The Battles at Gettysburg



COL. JAS. K. P. SCOTT



The Story *of the* Battles at Gettysburg

by
JAMES K. P. SCOTT
H. 1st Penna. Cavalry

*A survivor of a regiment with a monument
on the base-line of the defense at the Angle,
with its name inscribed on the pedestal at
the High Water Mark 20 20 20*



THE TELEGRAPH PRESS
HARRISBURG, PA.
1927

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by
Col. James K. P. Scott

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This story checks up with the official records of the Union and Confederate armies, authorized by the National Government and published by the War Department in 1880.

PREFACE.

By an act approved June 23, 1874, Congress authorized the publication of the official records of the War of the Rebellion, of both the Union and Confederate Armies, directing the then Secretary of War to have copied for the Public Printer all reports, letters, telegrams, and general orders not heretofore copied or printed, and arranged in chronological order.

By an act approved June 16, 1880, further provision was made for the printing and binding of 10,000 copies of a compilation of these records and directing their distribution among the officers of the Army and the contributors to the work; and to such libraries, organizations, and individuals as may be designated by the Senators, Representatives, and Delegates of the Forty-seventh Congress.

An officer of the Army, Robert N. Scott, Major of the Third Artillery, and Brevet Lieut.-Colonel, was selected for the compilation of the work that was finally approved by the War Department August 23, 1880, and signed by Alexander Ramsey, the then Secretary of War.

THE STORY OF THE BATTLES AT GETTYSBURG.

As far as humanly possible the story of this field must check up with the spirit of the pub-

PREFACE

lication of these records—the Truth of History. It is a field where red-blooded men fought out their differences—to a finish that they might ever after live in friendship tried by the horror of armed discussion.

The preservation of the field has served a purpose—glorious in its conception, a bit nebulous in its beginning, but now well defined as the last bitter drops of passion and prejudice drop from the diminishing end of a long perspective.

It is a National Park. We show the world a people who, after bloody civil strife meet and mingle their tears as they cherish the memory of the brave men who fell on this field in their name. The lamented Lincoln said:

“With malice toward none; with charity to all; with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in; to bind up the Nation’s wounds.”

Or the written words of a gallant soldier with this crimsoned field at his feet.

“I cannot speak of these brave men as their merits and exploits deserve. Some are appropriately mentioned in the accompanying reports and the memory of all will be gratefully and affectionately cherished by the people in whose name they fell.”

Gettysburg, Pa.
(Feb. 18, 1927.)

JAMES K. P. SCOTT
(H. 1st Pa. Cav.)

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The Story of
The Battles at Gettysburg

CHAPTER I.

Greeting to Old Friends and Hail to the New

(An autobiographic script)

I was born in a county in southwest Pennsylvania more than eighty years ago, a county where, at the time, the pigs squealed, the hens cackled, and the cocks crowed democracy of the old Jeffersonian brand. As the name indicates, I was somewhat Scotch, the blood coming to America in the time of the colonies by the way of County Antrim, the northern-most county of Ireland, where it took on a tinge of Irish; thence to the colonies—a long voyage in those days—where it was churned to the pure American brand, loyal to his flag, always ready to fight for his friends, or for those who had no luck in fight for themselves.

Adams county, at the time, was the northern-most limit of the old Chester grant and was

known as the Uplands—the Highlands, if you please—an attraction to the blood of the Scot. Many of them and their descendants are here yet, but more of them took the trails across the mountains, the then frontier, to the wide open spaces beyond. To-day the south-western counties of Pennsylvania and the north-western counties of the Virginias, are filled with the descendants of these hardy pioneers. And if you visit that section, and if your name happens to be Hugh, Abram, John, William, Edgar, James, Clarissa, Mary, Martha, or Nancy Scott,—write to your folks back home that you are going to stay until after Christmas, or Easter, or Fourth of July, or Thanksgiving, or Quarterly meeting—or tell them to advertise a sale.

The first born of a newly-wedded pair, I was inaugurated big chief about two weeks before James Knox Polk, of Tennessee, moved to the capital city of the country for a similar function.

Here is where I acquired the K that I afterwards lost: A doting father whispered a few words to the big chief justice at my inaugural that loaded the helpless infant with all the names possessed by the choice of the then electoral college.

I learned in later years that he would have added the names of the star members of the new

president's cabinet—but the mother revolted: she was a Virginian and claimed that there had been a few presidents of the then United States chosen by her State, and that she had some rights that even Pennsylvania had to respect.

The doctrine of the "Right of States," that, later, caused some considerable argument, was born, I believe, in Virginia. She stood up like a church for her helpless babe but I started life with initials enough that had they been at the other end of the family name, might have served as abbreviated college degrees later in life.

In the early days I had to respond to the usual contraction of names that follows, some of us, all through our lives—and I had enough names to go around: Jimmy, Jim, Jim-Polk, Knoxy, and Scotty, and some of the new boys at a new school used to call me Skinny, but not to my face more than once. It is true, I was extensively laid out but thinly settled—like Fayetteville, Pa.

MY FATHER AND MOTHER.

My father, John Davenport Scott (1819,) of Pennsylvania, was the first-born of a flock of fourteen. My mother, Sarah Ann Norris (1821,) of Virginia, the youngest of ten of an older family.

In the early 40's of the 19th century, marriage

was the result of a natural selection. The couple were attracted to each other, loved, and the Church or the Law—the preacher or the squire—set their seal upon a union that brought forth boys and girls who, later, became real fathers and mothers in real homes.

The father, as his father before him, was a blacksmith—and a good one. The “Scott Axe” was a favorite wherever wood-chopping was in fashion.

When I was big enough that I could reach the old bellows-pole by standing on a soap-box, I was initiated into the mysteries of the charred coal one sees on the hearth of the old-fashioned blacksmith shop. Then I became useful on the other side of the anvil with the two-handed sledge used by what was called in those days, the striker.

The mother was the dearest, best piece of God’s handiwork ever carved out of a rib. She had health, spirit, and brains, with more tact and diplomacy than falls to the lot of the country-bred woman. She led me through a course of reading when I was a lad that was of great use to me in later life.

My father was the strongest man I ever knew, physically and mentally. My mother the strongest woman mentally and physically I have ever met: You may note that I use the same words

but in different combination. I connect the physical end of the combination first with my father, for the reason, perhaps, that he more often connected himself with the physical end of my combination,—and I never got a lick amiss.

Like every American boy, when I began to look for the fuzz on my upper lip, I began to dream of West Point and the career of a soldier. The congressman of our district was a friend of my father. I was told that if I could qualify my dream would come true. My mother used her brains and we moved to her home section to be near "White's Academy." I soon had Town's speller, the first, second, third and fourth McGuffey readers, and Goodrich's history, hanging over the ropes, with Lindley Murray's grammar, and X plus something or other only speaking to me at the end of the day. That town is now a little city with car licenses on every highway in the United States.

Before the end of the term I was told by the Professor that I could hurdle every examining board that attempted to bar my way.

But "Man proposes and God disposes." The Spaniard adds to this old adage, "*y la guerra discompone á todo*," which may be freely translated, . . . "and war throws a monkey-wrench

into the machinery." And that is just what happened!

Like the sheet lightning that presages the coming of a storm, the southern skies began to light up at the horizon.

Instead of going to West Point I matriculated on war's fighting line, a course that did not end until 1865.

Our little family of three returns to the old home in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, the father and son with the purpose of responding to the call to arms that they were sure would soon be made. To boil the pot until a call should come, the father opened a blacksmith shop at a ferry on the Monongahela River a few miles above the upper dam of the slacked water of that river some ninety miles south of Pittsburgh. The son divided his time between the shop and piece work in the boat-yard of the place, swinging a maul under a boat on stilts, a steel maul with a face no larger than a silver half dollar, reaming for Dave Reeves, the boss caulker, with an up stroke from an unsteady stance that, later in life won him a golf trophy at Hot Springs, Va., with a gross score of 78 over a full course of 18 holes in a regular tournament—but that's another story, or an excuse for one.

Fort Sumter jarred the North to its heels.

The first effort to enlist was a failure—the father too old, (42,) and the son too young, (16.) The first call was for an army to enlist, train, and win the war, in ninety days. The whole bloody business was looked upon at the time as a huge outing—or picnic—in fact at the first severe clash of the war, at Bull Run, or Manassas, Washington City followed the army with lunch-baskets as if it were nothing more than a St. Patrick's Day parade and pic-nic.

DUNLAP CREEK CAVALRY.

The affair in Charleston Harbor in April jarred the people of the North out of bed, but it required the battle, or parade, or pic-nic at First Bull Run to thoroughly awaken old Mr. Military Authority at the nation's capital city. His dictum at the first call (90 days) was that "cavalry would be of no use—the war would be over before it could learn to ride."

Fortunately for the country and the flag, there were two men alive "the morning after" who know that we were confronted by a problem that could only be settled by the shedding of blood,—Lincoln and Curtin: the first issued a call for an army for "Three years, or during the war," and wired the latter asking if he had any troops.

And Curtin had them, immediately tendering

his State organization, "The Pennsylvania Reserve Corps," (15,000,) to the National Government (Good old Andy Curtin.) The tramp of these Pennsylvanians on Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington City, steadied the old town.

The President's first call for troops for the war, brought out the Dunlap Creek Cavalry, a pre-war militia company, that was accepted without lost motion—and father and son accepted with it. Thus the nucleus of a cavalry company embarks by boat for Pittsburgh, Pa., going into camp at the old fair-grounds in the 9th ward, (Camp Wilkins,) where we recruited to our full company quota of 108 men. August 1st, 1861, we were regularly mustered into the service—

Here is where I lost my K. A grim old mustering officer simply said, "This boy has too many names to carry through a long and vicious civil war," and kicked the "Knox" out of the name I gave, leaving me to get along as well as I could as James P. Scott, under which name I served the flag the best I knew.

In due time we arrived at Tennallytown, a suburb of the capital city, and assigned to the First Regiment of Pennsylvania Reserve Cavalry, taking the letter H.

At that camp our colonel came to us direct from West Point, and the entire company spent

the first night of his arrival in the guard-house, as it was known in those days.

After the lights were out that night, we decided in solemn conclave, to kill him in the first battle.

The division, The Pennsylvania Reserves, was moved to a camp in the old mother State, Virginia, where we were given the post of honor in the formation by division of the Army of the Potomac, the right division resting on the river above Washington City, its left division on the river eight miles below—by divisions circling the danger side of the city, like a necklace of pearls on the bosom of its mistress. The first winter quarters of the old army during the winter of 1861-1862.

During the autumn days that followed, we were drilled to a standstill—when we were not on guard duty, or on picket, policing camp, or absent without leave. By our attention to drill, or rather by the attention of our young colonel to drill, we became the most efficient cavalry regiment in the new army, and our colonel promoted to the grade of brigadier of the first body of cavalry brigaded in that army. (Brig.-Gen. George D. Bayard, killed at Fredericksburg, Va.)

I came out of the war of 1861-1865 after a full

term of service with the old Army of the Potomac short of, among other things, the voting age by a full year. There were no petting parties for the veterans of those days—nor bonus legislation.

I had to go work. I apprenticed myself to a hotel man in the days when the cashier of the front office had to stand a trick at the steam-table during the dinner hour. Of course I knew the business when I graduated.

In what might be termed the vicissitudes of a soldier's life I got what was coming to me. I had sampled the menus of "Libby" and "Belle Isle" in the capital city of the Confederacy serving in the cook-shed at the latter hostelry. After that particular bit of service to the flag, I spent two months in a hospital, a mile east of the Capitol at Washington City, and later at a convalescent camp, before I was able to remount a horse.

After the war I met my fate—she told me what Ruth told Naomi. The Jay Cooke failure in 1872 spilled the beans. I then found that my personal comfort had become a question of climate. I took Ruth at her word and a steamer took us to the Mediterranean where we lived many happy years.

SPAIN AND FRANCE.

We arrived at the city of Barcelona in Spain without knowledge of the language, or of the business or social customs of the country, with no other equipment than an absolute confidence in our-selves and trust in the God above us. We found a people in whom courtesy is an essential part of their language and their life; where hospitality is an unwritten law scrupulously observed, and vice not visible unless sought for. The winter climate at that point is a succession of blue skies and sunshine, flowers and vegetation, and no frost.

How little we know of people until we have met them in their homes. Our summer months were spent in the north of France where, years later, they laid out the von Hindenburg Line. We made our home at a little hotel in Paris where they had never before known an American guest—and much to their astonishment our skins were white just like their own. And they were white from surface to center.

When all four cylinders were working, and other conditions permitted it, we would hike to almost every interesting part of Picardy, Normandy, and Bretagne. We found the people of France like those of Spain—courteous, hospitable, and temperate. In all the years we lived

among them the writer of these lines does not recall ever having seen a Spaniard or Frenchman under the influence of drink.

One of our first fete days in France, was the dedication of a monument in the Place d'Enfer. The country had scarcely recovered from the Franco-German war of 1870-1871. An indemnity of five thousand million of francs (\$1,000,000,000) was imposed upon the losers by the winners of that war, and further despoiled of two provinces, leaving an army corps in the fortress of Belfort in French territory until that indemnity be paid.

The indemnity was promptly paid from the savings of a thrifty people, and the monument, "Le Lion de Belfort," memorialized the departure of the alien army corps.

THE HOTEL OF THE INVALIDS. (THE SOLDIERS HOME.)

The Soldiers Home at Paris is known in the to us curious idiom of the country as, "L'Hotel des Invalides," where the bones of Napoleon rest among the boys who shared his triumphs, and were with him in his disgrace. A soldier myself, I naturally sought the companionship, and found pleasure in the company of other soldiers. I divided my spare hours between the "Soldiers

Home," and L'Ecole Militaire, next to our West Point, the greatest military school of the world.

Captain Nicolai, an instructor, became my friend. He was an officer of the French Army retired by reason of wounds received at Sedan. War was his trade for which he had been qualified by training and long experience in the field. In a long association with him I had occasion to open my mind to the trained logic of the soldier who viewed the other wars of the world without prejudice or politics, un-influenced by a Mason and Dixon's, or frontier lines of any kind. From him I absorbed an obsession that some day I should see a National Park, a Nation's Battlefield at Gettysburg, where the world might see a people, the descendants of the best soldier war has ever known, meet and mingle their tears while they memorialize those who died in their names, every drop of the passion and prejudices of a civil war petering out of the diminishing end of a long perspective.

HOME AGAIN.

War had robbed me of an education by getting me tangled up in its contentions, but I had profited by the experience that comes from travel and a knowledge of the world.

After Appomattox, there was nothing for the

old soldier to do—north as well as south—but go to work. There were no legislative acts of a congress, or bonus legislation for either of us. I solved the problem life then presented to me by apprenticing myself to a master of the hotel business. When I graduated I knew the business, and it was always easy to get work and keep it until the inevitable crisis that then followed our wars spilled the beans, and I presented Ruth with the problem of her life which she gloriously solved.

In 1893, I was no longer a young man, but I had a good trade and could speak, read, write, and think in three languages, a very useful equipment in the then new birth in hotels. I secured a position with Mr. George C. Boldt as a part of his office staff at the opening of the Waldorf, and then the Waldorf-Astoria, where I remained until my little wife and pal was taken from me by death in 1898.

One day, in 1899, the lights went out on me at my desk, and I never returned to that office again. I was sent to Palm Beach that winter. Early in 1900 I was sent to a wonderful cure in the mountains of Virginia (Hot Springs, Bath County,) where the treatment gave me back my health with some new health with it.

Then, I was made Superintendent of the Cure, a post I held for 12 years (1900-1912).

GETTYSBURG.

It was my grievance against fate that I could not be present with the regiment to which I belonged at the battles that were fought here—I was in a camp of parole and convalescence at the time. Yes, I had the right to think that the spirit of the law that authorized the erection of the Pennsylvania Memorial with its bronze tablets on this field, would admit the justice of the addition of my name to its place in the roll of my company—It was no fault of mine that I was not present at the battle.

A narrow-minded official of the Battle-field Commission, who unfortunately for me, had some authority, hit me with the letter of the law—"Your name does not go on that monument unless you were present at the battle." I learned afterwards that, had I permitted the suggestion to originate with himself, it would have been in accord with the letter and the spirit of the law.

(No. 57 ADDED SECTION.)

Uncle Sam, in sympathy with my grievance, perhaps, has allotted a grave in the national cemetery at Gettysburg for my final use, to

which he has permitted me to bring the remains of my wife, and erect a joint memorial-stone. All that is "of Earth earthy" of the little woman, God rest her soul, lies there now.

AT ONE'S OWN GRAVE.

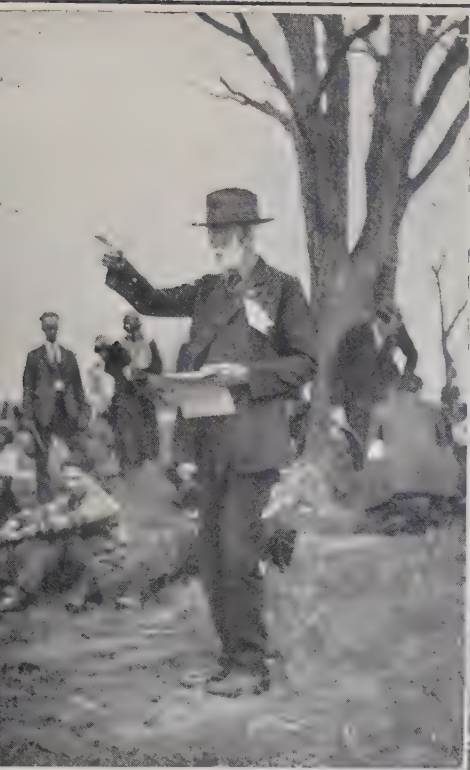
It is not often given to a man in life to review its past at his own grave. But that is exactly what has come to me.

Uncle Sam has allotted me a grave in the National Cemetery at Gettysburg with the added privilege of bringing my wife to the same grave to there await my time.

A joint-memorial stone marks the spot, and I keep myself in trim in health and morals by a daily pilgrimage to the spot. I am there now as these reflections pass through my mind. There are but four figures to be added to the inscription.

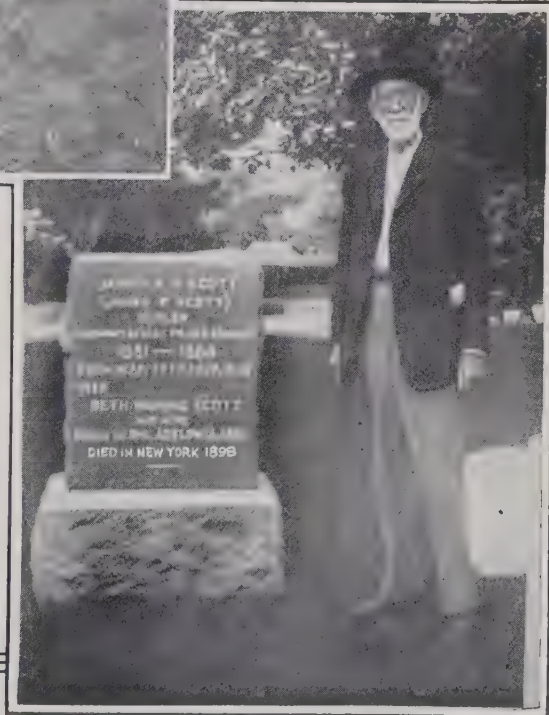
I praise the Master for permitting me to live so long on borrowed time—long enough to see and live among the happy results made by the men and boys of 1861-1865.

I live at the nervous center of the great contention—where the judgment of the Great Court of Appeals was handed down. I have lived to see the people against whom that judgment was given reconciled to the verdict, a surcease from



“* * * those brave fellows fought for what they believed to be right. With a copy of the Declaration of Independence on their desks before them, our wise fathers lacked the courage of their convictions and failed to provide against what happened here.”

Here, I come to clear the cobwebs that weave about my tired old brain, to dream of the past and hope for the future.”





*The
Rail Birds*

"Je viens de la parte
du coeur de France
a vous dire * * *"



"Jim, Harry and
Fred, rail-birds look-
ing for bullets."

armed strife unknown in the history of the peoples of the world.

We are Americans, the greatest of them all!

My own life is a refutation of the old adage that republics are ungrateful—Uncle Sam, and that means the people for whom we made the sacrifice, has thought of us living, and cares for our dead.

This beautiful cemetery is blessed of God and dedicated to the brave men who gave their lives to the old flag, now loved and honored by all.

Uncle Sam did not even forget the glory that will come to one of the humblest of his servitors on that Great Day, when he and his little wife, the wife of his youth, may rise from the same ashes with the soldier's response, "Here!" to the Archangel's call.

I have come to love the old town. For twelve successive seasons I have seen senior classes break into the great problem of life—like a bunch of yearling trout released in a limpid pool of a mountain stream, with wonderment that their world is so large. How I envied those boys their chance in the life before them! I keep young in spirit by finding friends and sympathy among the students of the college and the preparatory academy—an association that appeals because I was robbed by war of a collegiate youth.

I never hear a college yell that I do not at once shout my head off at low breath.

Carved in my mind are the names of scores of graduates of Gettysburg's college whom fame awaits with open arms—and "Fame loves a true-hearted man, and a gentleman."

Here, I come to clear the cob-webs that begin to weave about a tired old brain, to dream of a past and hope for a future, happy in that thought that the little wife of my youth, or what remains of her ashes, lies there, within touch of my cane, under the sod—a final Earthy home that will be cared for as long as there is a flag to wave above us. Oh, you Uncle Sam!

I linger on with the hope of seeing before I go, the guard-lines thrown away that holds back the North and South, with so much in common, from over-flowing the field in each other's arms. That our national parks may be "Meccas," places of pilgrimage to monuments to the valor of our common ancestry.

Must we be taught that brothers or sisters, who have had their differences, shall never speak to each other again? At the regular meeting of our Post of the G. A. R. last week, there were but nine of us present—a feeble flicker of the old flame—should we be taught that the sacrifice we

made in 1861-1865, was only a political gesture of the then time? God, forbid!

Co-incident with the hour in which all that was mortal of the late President, Warren G. Harding, was consigned to his tomb at Marion, Ohio, a famous French soldier passed through Gettysburg, General Henri Francois Gouraud, Commander of the French Fourth Army in the World's War, now the military commandant of the City of Paris.

At that moment our citizens were assembled in our National Cemetery with the solemn service of a funeral hour. General Gouraud and his party heard the service from the tower on the ridge near the Bryan House. The service at the pergola was halted for a moment that this splendid soldier might lay a tribute of glowing speech at the tomb of a president of the United States.

The photo was taken on the steps of the Eagle Hotel where the party had stopped for luncheon. The coat-sleeve that hangs at his side was empty—the arm left at Gallipolis.

THE CHICAGO HIGH SCHOOL.

Sunday, April 26th., the second annual tour of the Washington Club of Chicago, composed of the boys and girls of the high-schools of that city (of the classes of 1925) conducted by a Gen-

eral Control with Mr. Benjamin A. Polzin, of the department of civic training, at its head paused on their way in special train to Washington City, leaving their train at Harrisburg for their scheduled visit to the battle-fields of Gettysburg.

They knew what they came for and set about it at once. Young oak trees grown in the Oak Ridge cemetery of Springfield, Illinois, near the tomb of Lincoln, were transplanted with appropriate service in the National Cemetery, and at the High Water Mark.

The trees thus planted serve as the tribute of a grateful people to the brave men who fought, and gave up their lives here.

At the High Water Mark this part of the service is closed with an address by Comrade James K. P. Scott, from almost under the shadow of the monument memorializing the regiment to which he belonged, that was present and assisted in the turning of General Lee's supreme effort on the afternoon of the Third Day.

It was a bunch that would have made a graven image speak—one hundred and sixty boys and girls seated tailor fashion at the angle, on the grass that was stained that day with the blood of the best soldiers of the world. They heard a recital of the charge that will not be repeated

here—an oft-told story—but he asks for space for his concluding sentences:

.....Great questions come to plague nations as well as individuals that, seemingly cannot be settled without the shedding of blood. You see the spot and have heard an outline of a great conflict that settled a question for you and yours—"that a nation half slave and half free cannot long exist."

To every field, lawn and meadow in this broad land, God daily sends his blessing—diamond drops white and pure, "each blade of grass with its own drop of dew." On the grass where you sit, the blades were stained that afternoon with war's blood-red dew!.....Heavens own dew has washed away that blood-stain and a great peace has entered the hearts of the soldiers who fought each other so bitterly here.

Those brave fellows thought they were right—and they had a right to think so! Our forefathers who formulated the Constitution for our government lacked the courage of their convictions. with the declaration on their desks—under their eyes—that declared all men entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, they failed to provide against what they might have known would happen—what did happen on the spot where you sit!

They failed to provide against a possible dissolution of the union of states they had just accomplished—bound to each other by blood and common sacrifice. Later, in the absence of such provision, our young men, selected for a military career, were taught by our own interpreters of the Constitution that, "The withdrawal of a State from the union of states depended upon the will of the people of that State." I quote from a text-book in the library of our military school at West Point in the pre-war days from which the cadet of the South was taught the art and science of war and statecraft. Do you wonder that these men gave their lives to the thought—the thought that they were right?

There is now but one country, one flag and but one destiny! Two splendid soldiers, Generals Grant and Lee, opened the doors of the old home, and both armies were glad that peace had come.

In two wars that have come and gone since Appomattox, the sons and the grandsons of the men who fought us here, the young men of the Southland, have stood shoulder to shoulder with the young men of the Northland in a hedge of steel about the old flag!

It is our sacred duty to fill the minds of the

youth of the land just entering and encountering the great problem of life, that hymns of hate are no longer in vogue. An old soldier thanks you for your presence here from the bottom of his heart.

A tour of the field was made, the thirty autos returning with a happy bunch to their waiting train at Harrisburg.

CHAPTER II.

Gettysburg—Before and After the Battle

Gettysburg differed very little from any town of its size in any agricultural community. It was born in Adams County in the State of Pennsylvania of respectable German or Dutch parentage, as indicated by the names on the tombstones in their citizens' cemetery, and in due time became the county seat.

In 1863 it contained about twenty-one hundred inhabitants. It had the usual town square intersected by cross streets that soon ceased to be streets and became roads leading to Carlisle, York, Baltimore and Chambersburg. These towns acknowledged the compliment by giving their names to the streets. The town had never had a spasm of excitement in all its long life. It was a station on the "Underground Railroad" between the South and Canada in the days of the fugitive slave law. It is said that the rock-fence running southward from the cemetery, that served the Federal lines so well at the now historic clump of trees on Cemetery Ridge, was built by a fugitive slave.

The town's principal industries were leather,

carriages and students. The young men absorbed their fashions from the visiting salesmen of the larger cities and towns. The young girls were of the sweet clean type that make the best sweet-hearts, wives and mothers in the land.

The numerous roads, radiating from the town like spokes from the hub of a wheel, led through an agricultural community teeming with well-tilled fields, comfortable houses and big red barns. The last named were veritable horse-palaces bursting with the evidence of the skill of the farmer and the arable quality of the land. Their houses were all of a type—the living-room, its dining-room, with the one best room with store-carpet and only opened on highdays and holydays, with the curtains carefully pulled down that the sun might not fade the carpet—can you ever forget the odor coming from a freshly laid store-carpet in such a room? The walls are hung with crayons from photographs of grandparents, fathers, mothers and those members of the family that had been laid to rest in the nearest God's Acre. A little table in the center of the room holds a set of stereoscopic views, a large glass cylinder covering some white wax-flowers, and the family library—the Bible, an almanac and Fox's Book of Martyrs. An organ, that meant many a pound of butter and basket of eggs,

graced one corner of the room, where Mary, Martha or Margaret, who played the organ at Sunday School and led the singing at Church, surrounded by her young friends on special occasions, played and sang in her high but not unpleasant voice "Pull for the Shore" and other popular sacred melodies.

These good people kept out of debt, generously allowed their children time off from the fields to attend the public schools—when field-work was slack—and saved for them sufficient to buy a little farm when the time came for them to have families of their own.

This was the town and the community that witnessed the marshaling and marching of mighty armed hosts, and felt, throbbing in their ears, the vibrations of three days of fierce and bloody battles.

At noon of the First Day the headquarters flag of the Army of the Potomac was at Taneytown, a little Maryland hamlet named in honor of the Chief Justice of the United States. Across the hills and along the dusty roads leading to Gettysburg could be seen the glitter from swaying bayonets as, with steady tread, Meade's columns were marching northward.

The news of the battle began to filter back: "A terrible battle now going on at a place called

Gettysburg"; 'General Reynolds killed and more bad news to come'; then it comes, 'everything splendid, have driven them five or six miles from Gettysburg'; again, "badly cut up, sir, and falling back"; "men fought like tigers after Reynolds' death"; "Gettysburg burnt by the rebels"; "things were going wild when Hancock got up"; "We still hold Gettysburg"; "Wadsworth's division cut to pieces—not a full regiment left of the whole of it." This in substance was the information that greeted the ears of two young men, correspondents of the New York Times and of the Cincinnati Gazette, as they left for the front. "It is of such stuff as this," remarked one of them, "that news direct from the battlefield made up by itinerant liars at points distant from the field, and telegraphed throughout the country, is manufactured."

One of these young men whom we shall call "Agate" describes in his story to his paper, the trip from Taneytown to the front. "Riding through the marching columns became more and more difficult as we advanced, and finally to avoid it we turned off into a by-way leading to the right. We were told that our by-path would bring us into the Baltimore pike certain to be less obstructed. Across the hills to the left we could see the white covered wagons slowly winding in

and out through the trees and the blue-coated masses toiling forward. The shades of the evening dimmed and magnified the scene until one might have thought the hosts of Xerxes in all the glory of modern armor were pressing on to Gettysburg.

“Selecting a promising-looking farm-house, with a more than usually impressive barn in its rear, we stopped for supper. Great cherry trees bent before the door under their weight of fruit; the kitchen garden was crowded with vegetables; contented cattle stood about the barn; sleek horses filled the stables; fat geese gave a doubtful hiss of welcome as we came too near, and the very farm yard laughed with plenty. To add to our comfort the farmer’s hearty welcome was supplemented by a well spread table.

“It was dark when we resumed our journey, but our by-path had now become a road with a full moon casting occasional glances at us from behind the clouds. At last camp-fires gleamed through the woods ahead and we caught the hum of the camps. We passed in front of a house where all the lights were out, but the family had gathered on the doorstep too much interested in the, to them, unfamiliar sounds and sights to go to bed. “If you want to stop for the night,” they said, pointing off the road to the right, “turn up

by the school-house. Squire Durburrow is such a nice man”!

“Squire Durburrow is a very nice man. We roused him out of bed where he must have been for two or three hours. ‘Can you take care of us until morning?’ we asked. ‘I will do it with pleasure,’ he replied. The horses are housed in one of those great horse-palaces these people build for barns; we are comfortably and even luxuriously quartered.”

Mrs. Hartman, a daughter of Squire Durburrow, and present on the occasion referred to, informed the writer, but a few days before these lines were written, that their guests of fifty years ago, after a substantial breakfast, left for the field at four o’clock in the morning. She now learns for the first time that the “Agate” of these lines was the late Ambassador representing the United States at the Court of St. James—the Hon. Whitelaw Reid.

“Itinerant liars” not only manufactured “news direct from the front” at points ten or twenty miles distant from the field, but manufactured gross libels on the communities through which they passed. Our soldiers, as they filled the roads leading to Gettysburg, were received with every manifestation of loyalty by the citizens. In every town, village and hamlet the road-side

was crowded by citizens, their wives and children. There was a waving of flags, patriotic songs, stacks of home-made bread with butter and apple-butter, with cooling draughts of water from gourds, tin cups and tin dippers. This was the reception the citizens gave the soldiers. After the soldiers came the camp-followers. Imagine, if you please, the chronic straggler who avoids a battle because he is a coward. Make this armed coward, drunk on stolen whiskey, give him a dozen or more armed companions as desperate, cowardly and drunken as himself and turn them loose into a peaceful community, every farmhouse near the highways filled with drunken loafers in uniform, compelling the farmers to keep constant watch, you will have a picture of the rear of a large army. Of course these scoundrels were not soldiers.

The citizens of the communities through which our army passed on its way to Gettysburg had to protect themselves against the class above described. These good people unused to army ways, may not have been, always, able to discriminate between the army bummer and some itinerant liar in search of news direct from the field. It was from this source, "direct from the field," that we find the good name and fame of the communities through which our army passed on its

way to Gettysburg, grossly misrepresented and libelled. The army itself, it is true, did some damage along its line of march, but the extent of this damage was surprisingly small and consisted chiefly in burning fence rails for cooking purposes, and the breaking of the limbs of the cherry-trees. There was no wanton destruction of property nor did harm come to any of the citizens.



When the army left Gettysburg in pursuit of Lee's army, the wounded soldiers were left to the care of surgeons of both armies left for that purpose, the citizens of Gettysburg, the Christian and Sanitary Commissions, army surgeons from the city hospitals and contract surgeons from private life. With some splendid exceptions the last named were not of much service, the field surgeons complaining that they would not submit to the privations necessary, and seemed to care more for their personal comfort than they did for the care of the wounded.

Most of the wounded of the first day's fight were carried into the town under the organization of the First and the Cavalry corps, and were prisoners at the end of the day. The wounded of the second and third days were distributed approximately as follows:—The Second Corps hospital

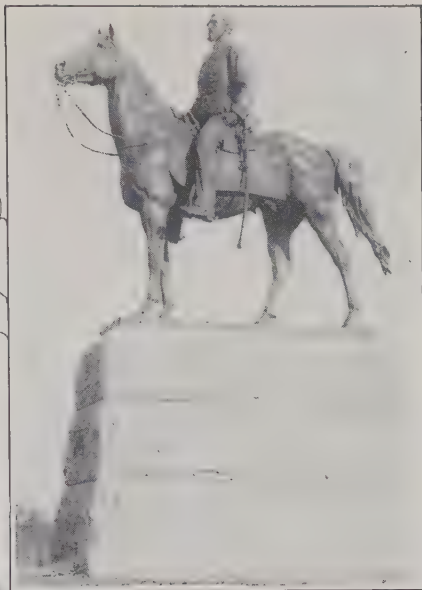
was situated on the banks of Rock Creek, in tents near the house of Isaac Schriver. The Third Corps hospital was on high ground near the junction of White Creek with Rock Creek. The Fifth Corps hospital was in three divisions, the first on Little's farm south of White Creek; the second south of Mrs. Jesse Clapsaddle's house also south of White Creek; the third about a half-mile west of Two Taverns on the farm of Jesse Werley. The Sixth Corps hospital was on the east side of Rock Creek, in tents, near the house of John Trostle. The Eleventh Corps hospital occupied the house and barn of George Spangler near the Granite School House. The Twelfth Corps hospital was at and near the home of George Bushman west of Rock Creek. The wounded of the first day, as already mentioned, were brought into town, where a portion of them were quartered and cared for in the churches, court-house and by the citizens. The balance of the First and Cavalry Corps were taken to the First Corps hospital established in three divisions; the White Church and Lightner's house on the Baltimore pike; in and about the house of Peter Conover south of White Creek and west of the Baltimore pike; and the house of Jonathan Young near the Baltimore pike south of White Creek.



ROBERT EDWARD LEE
(1807-1870) General and
Commander of the Confeder-
ate Armies. (1862-1865).

* * *

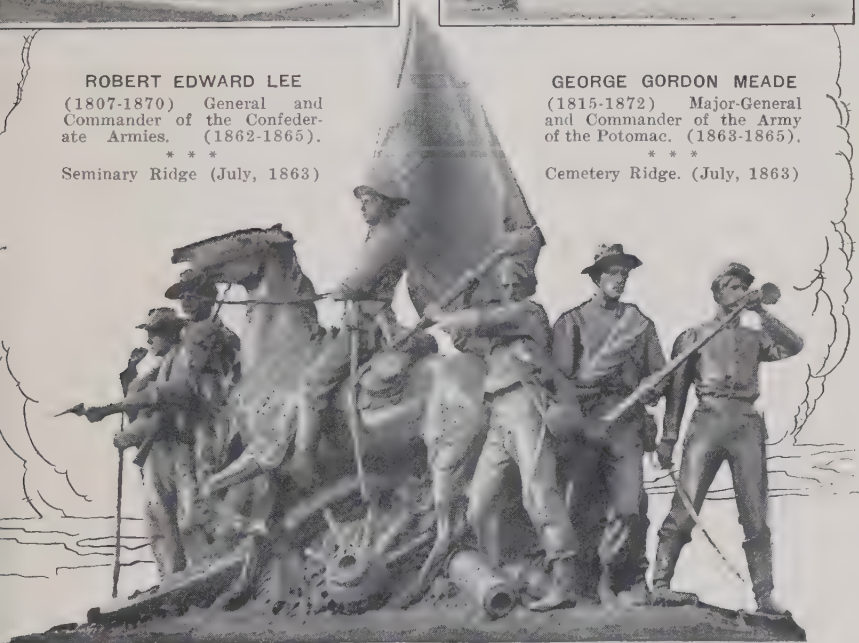
Seminary Ridge (July, 1863)



GEORGE GORDON MEADE
(1815-1872) Major-General
and Commander of the Army
of the Potomac. (1863-1865).

* * *

Cemetery Ridge. (July, 1863)



SEVIER'S SYMBOLS

On the Facade of the Monument erected to the Soldiers of Virginia who gave
their lives to this Field.



GENERAL REYNOLDS KILLED. (10:15 A. M.)

The marker on the left shows the spot where he fell, General Doubleday, upon whom the command of the field at once devolved, fixes the hour as given above. The McPherson house and barn show on the right at the Gettysburg-Cash-town Road.

The Confederate hospitals were located on Rock Creek and along the Chambersburg, Mummasburg, Heidlersburg and Fairfield roads; in Pennsylvania College, the Seminary, private houses in the town, and distributed in our own corps hospitals.

In the care of the Confederate wounded, again, the citizens of Gettysburg did their whole duty. With this article appears a cut of a letter written by Gen. Kemper to Dr. J. W. C. O'Neal, one of those citizens of whom we shall have more to say. Dr. O'Neal, a resident practicing physician, with house and office on the northeast corner of High and Baltimore streets, threw open his doors to Blue and Gray alike. With a heart filled with the milk of human kindness and the spirit of brotherly-love, he ministered, without thought of reward, to the severely wounded of both sides. With Gen. Kemper's letter we append a letter from a gallant soldier and officer of the "Iron Brigade" wounded in the fight of the first day:

Lancaster, Wis.,
September 28th, 1863.

MY KIND FRIENDS }
MR. AND MRS. O'NEAL }

The kind manner in which I was treated under your roof merits every grateful acknowledgment from me and is not nor will it ever be forgotten.

* * * I am improving slowly. Had an abscess break

in my liver and the contents pass off through my lungs on my journey home; came very near going over the dam. I write with a pencil because I am not yet able to write with a pen. Give my love to little Mary and the rest of the children.

Yours with great respect,

JNO. B. CALLIS,
Lt.-Col. 7th Wisconsin.

This broad-minded citizen did not confine himself to ministrations to the sorely wounded, but interested himself in marking, for the purposes of identification the graves of the dead. The bodies of the soldiers garbed in gray especially appealed to this man. They had no friends here. They had fallen on a field hostile to them. They were buried by contract and often without ceremony. In some far-away homes of the Southland grief was consuming the hearts of the wives, mothers and sweethearts of these men. Dr. O'Neal made it his duty, as far as he could, to preserve a record of these graves that their friends might some day, carry what was left to rest in the soil of the land of their birth. One Southern mother said in a letter to the Doctor:—"Our Wilmington papers bring the welcome intelligence to many bereaved Southern hearts that you have cared for the graves of many of our Confederate dead at Gettysburg, replaced headboards and prepared a list of their names. May

the Lord bless you is the prayer of many Southern hearts—Oh! we have lost so much. There are but few families that do not mourn the loss of one or more loved ones, and only a mother who has lost a son in that awful battle can and does appreciate fully such goodness as you have shown. I, too, lost a son at Gettysburg, a brave, noble boy in the full bloom of youth, and my heart yearns to have his remains, if they can be found, brought home to rest in the soil of the land he loved so well. I need your assistance and I am confident you will aid me. No sorrow-stricken mother could ask and be refused by such a heart as yours.” The letter was a long one giving such details as she had been able to gather from her son’s comrades. This mother’s name was Mrs. A. T. Mercer, the letter dated at Supply, Brunswick, N. C., Aug. 16th, 1866. The son was Captain Oliver E. Mercer (21 years of age), Co. G, 20th North Carolina. He fell in front of the 12th Mass. and the 88th Penna. in the disaster that overwhelmed Iverson’s brigade on Oak Ridge the afternoon of the first day. As there is no record of the grave, he was, no doubt, buried with the dead of his company in the Iverson Pits on the Forney farm. These remains were, years after, taken to Raleigh. Many bodies were reclaimed through the kindly offices of

Dr. O'Neal, and many a prayer is registered above for the rest of his soul. After a long and useful life he entered into that rest April 24th, 1913.

Miss Woolsey, before referred to, tells of a fair-haired, blue-eyed young lieutenant, "a face innocent enough for one of our own New England boys." This good woman enjoyed the surprise and pleasure of this "rebel" to find himself cared for. "I cannot think of him as a rebel—he was too near heaven for that." The lad was a son of a Lutheran clergyman and knew the hymns of his father's church. He sang now and again in a clear sweet voice, "Lord have mercy upon me." Miss Woolsey continues, "we sat watching and listening to the clear voice singing 'Lord have mercy upon me,' when, at sunset, I put my hand on his heart to find it still." On the little head-board placed at his grave was inscribed:—"Lieut. Rauch, 14th Regt. South Carolina."

CHAPTER III.

The Events That Led to the Appointment of George Gordon Meade to the Command of the Army of the Potomac

The smoke had scarcely lifted from the crimsoned field of Fredericksburg when a vicious attack was made by some of the general officers upon the commanding general of the Army of the Potomac; some of them taking counsel of their ambition, others impelled by the desire to escape the odium of their share of the mistakes of the field, but all of them united in charging General Burnside, the then commanding general of the Army of the Potomac, with the *great crime of defeat*.

General Burnside was only human and came back at them. On the 23d of January 1863 he telegraphed President Lincoln that he had prepared some very important orders and would like to see him before issuing them and asked for an appointment alone and at the White House after midnight. The important orders are on record and are as follows:

“Hdqrs. Army of the Potomac,
January 23rd, 1863.

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 8.

1. General Joseph Hooker, major-general of volunteers and brigadier-general U. S. Army, having been guilty of unjust and unnecessary criticisms of his superior officers, and of the authorities, and having, by the general tone of his conversation, endeavored to create distrust in the minds of officers who have associated with him, and having, by omissions and otherwise, made reports and statements which were calculated to create incorrect impressions, and for habitually speaking in disparaging terms of other officers, is hereby dismissed from the service of the United States as a man unfit to hold an important commission during a crisis like the present, when so much patience, charity, confidence, consideration, and patriotism are due from every soldier in the field. This order is issued subject to the approval of the President of the United States.” Other names were mentioned for dismissal, and others to be relieved from duty without delay.

On the 25th, Major-General Halleck, commanding general of the army, received the following note from the president:

Executive Mansion,
Jan. 25th, 1863.

“Major General Halleck:

My Dear Sir: Please meet General Burnside here at 10 o'clock this morning.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.”

General order No. 8 was evidently not approved and the following order from the Adjutant-General's office appears:

Washington, D. C.,
Jan. 25, 1863.

"General Orders, No. 20.

The President of the United States has directed:

1st. That Major-General A. E. Burnside, at his own request, be relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac.

2nd. That Major-General W. B. Franklin be relieved from duty in the Army of the Potomac.

* * *

4th. That Major-General J. Hooker be assigned to the command of the Army of the Potomac.

* * *

By Order of the Secretary of War,

E. D. TOWNSEND,
Assistant Adjutant Gen."

To the old adage, "Man proposes but God disposes," might be added that the ambition of men discomposes. The barter and traffic that followed General Burnside's request for relief from command is a shameless chapter that need not be recited here.

The most prominent names mentioned to succeed Burnside were Reynolds, Meade and Hooker. Reynolds and Meade were the choice of the President, Commanding General Halleck, and Secretary of War, Stanton; but Hooker, with certain social and newspaper influence, was

the choice of another element. Hooker received the appointment and with it, much to his surprise, the loyal support of the grim war-secretary Edwin M. Stanton who had opposed his appointment. He also received with the appointment a characteristic letter from President Lincoln. Among other things in that letter the President said:—"You are ambitious which, within reasonable bounds, does good rather than harm; but I think that during General Burnside's command of the army, you have taken counsel of your ambition and thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did a great wrong to your country and to a most meritorious and honorable brother officer. I have heard, in such a way that I must believe it, of your recent saying that both the army and the country needed a dictator. Of course, it was not for this but in spite of it that I have given you the command. Only those generals who gain success can set up dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, I will risk the dictatorship."

With what patience did this great soul possess itself in the God-given task of saving this, our country, with the petty importunities and the petty jealousies of officers in the field; and members of his official family, presumably the choice among the brainy, patriotic men of his party,

scheming to succeed him to the presidency. More than the army or the country the President and the occasion needed, for one short hour, the strong arm of Hooker's dictator that the whole bunch might have been disposed of as the housewife disposes of her surplus kittens, and their places filled with men who would have given their country and their cause the "full measure of devotion."

The forces engaged in naming a successor to General Burnside were, like the army he commanded, divided into three grand divisions—the President, with the better element in his cabinet, honestly striving for the best solution of the problem; the presidential aspirants in the cabinet and in the senate pulling wires and making combinations; and the Rocking Chair brigade that, when they were not furnishing the enemy with information of the movements of the army in the field were imposing their plans upon the president and the war department.

Many names were considered for the appointment but the younger men were fast earning recognition in the field. The older names were eliminated leaving Reynolds, Meade and Hooker for consideration. The two first names were in strong favor with the president and the war department. They were not known by sight in

Washington or at the war department but spent their time with their commands in the field; nor were there any communications on file in the department with their advice as to the conduct of the army in the field; or knocks for their brother officers.

General Reynolds, then a corps commander, was also the choice of the officers in the field and would have been the new commander had the war department taken the same line with him they did later with Meade at Frederick. He would have accepted an order as Meade did, but he was afforded the chance to impose certain conditions that the war department refused to consider. This left only the names of Meade and Hooker to be considered. The second and third grand divisions were stronger than the first—and Hooker won.

General Hooker broke up the army grand divisions by General Orders No. 6, dated February 5th, 1863, but retained the corps organization. January 31st, 1863 the Ninth corps, then a part of the Army of the Potomac, was ordered to report to General Dix at Fortress Monroe. At the same date orders were issued to exchange the Penna. Reserve division for an equal number of Pennsylvania troops then serving in the defenses at Washington, General Meade, the division

commander, relieving General Butterfield in the command of the Fifth Corps. When General Hooker was given the command of the army General Meade became the commander of the Center Grand Division until that divisional organization was broken up.

At this time the cavalry of the Army of the Potomac found itself; General Hooker gathering its units together and consolidating them into a corps placing Brigadier General George Stoneman, then commanding the Third Corps at its head.

The Ninth Corps having been detached the remaining seven corps, that now comprised the Potomac Army were commanded by the following officers:

Major General John F. Reynolds, First Corps.

Major General D. N. Couch, Second Corps.

Brigadier General D. E. Sickles, Third Corps.

Major General Geo. G. Meade, Fifth Corps.

Major General John Sedgwick, Sixth Corps.

Major General Franz Sigel, Eleventh Corps.

Major General H. W. Slocum, Twelfth Corps.

February 6th orders were issued embarking the Ninth Corps, now commanded by General

Burnside, for Fortress Monroe, and the Penna. Reserves for Alexandria.

February 12th, Major General Franz Sigel, not satisfied with the conditions resulting from the breaking up of the grand divisions, asked to be relieved from the command of the Eleventh Corps. This relief was granted and Major General O. O. Howard was assigned to the command of the Corps by order dated March 31st, 1863. Meanwhile Brigadier General Sickles, having been commissioned Major General, was made permanent commander of the Third Corps by order dated April 15th, 1863.

Then came Chancellorsville. There was available for the line of battle by the report of April 30th, 1863:

Infantry, Officers 6,961; Men 106,877.

Cavalry, Officers 574; Men 10,828.

Artillery, Officers 258; Men 8,210.

Total, Officers 7,793; Men 125,915.

General Hooker began his first campaign with a movement that has become a model in the war-colleges of Europe—he crossed two rivers in the presence of his enemy and placed the bulk of his army on his flank and rear. With the head of his columns in the open beyond the wilderness he lost his nerve and with it his battle. Had he continued his march in the open he would have uncov-

ered Bank's ford on the Rappahannock thus bringing the two wings of his army together; withdrawing to Chancellorsville left him with a divided army.

After this defeat, Hooker having resolved to recross the river, called the corps commanders together, "not as a council of war but to ascertain how they felt in regard to making what I (Hooker) considered a desperate move against the enemy in our front." This conference was held between dark of the 4th and dawn of the 5th of May. General Reynolds threw himself upon a bed, worn out by want of rest and sleep, saying that his opinion would be the same as General Meade's; General Meade (Fifth Corps) voted for an advance upon the enemy from their then position; General Howard (Eleventh Corps) voted with Meade; General Sickles (Third Corps) and Couch (Second Corps) voted to recross the river—General Slocum (Twelfth Corps) and Sedgwick (Sixth Corps) not present. General Meade subsequently expressed his thought that he wished the bridges had been carried away.

The President and Commanding General Halleck left Washington at 4 p. m., May 6th, to see Hooker. The President returned to Washington leaving Halleck at Hooker's headquarters to

learn the truth. Halleck returned to Washington with his report and for once Stanton was master of the situation—it was decided that the retreat from Chancellorsville was inexcusable, and that Hooker should not be given the conduct of another battle. Hooker was willing to resign but did not wish to leave active service in the field—he still possessed influence enough to prevent his immediate humiliation.

All eyes were now turned to Reynolds and Meade either of them should have been named immediately after the lost battle. Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania, however, gave the army the department at Washington, and the Rocking Chair brigade something else to think about than a successor to Hooker.

General Hooker followed the movements of General Lee's army with consummate skill. At the Potomac, eight weeks having slipped by since his defeat at Chancellorsville, and not having received any disturbing news from Washington, he may have thought the storm had blown over. He crossed to the Maryland side of the river, sent Slocum (Twelfth Corps) to Harper's Ferry and asked Washington to include the troops at that point in his command—sending the *material* to Washington and taking the men to the field. This request was refused the refusal bringing out

the tender of his resignation that terminated his service with the Army of the Potomac.

THE WAR OFFICE ORDER:

June 27th both armies had crossed the Potomac with Hooker's army corps admirably disposed at and near Frederick, Md. Washington, decided upon a change, having gathered wisdom from the lessons of the past, sent a representative of the war department to Frederick with orders for General Meade, a corps commander to take command without giving that general the option to refuse. Brigadier General James A. Hardie, chief of the staff of the Secretary of war, arrived with the formal order of the President placing General Meade in command of the Army of the Potomac. Between dusk of the 27th and dawn of the 28th General Meade was awakened to find General Hardie at his cot-side with the formal order of the President. Against his inclination he accompanied the President's representative to General Hooker's headquarters tent to whom a copy of the order was delivered.

The new commander of the Army of the Potomac protested to being placed in command stating that the army favored the appointment of General Reynolds to the command should

Hooker be displaced; referred to the great personal friendship that existed between Reynolds and himself which would make the President's order an instrument of a great injustice to them both; and objected to the requirement that he should go to General Hooker's headquarters until sent for by that general. In the presence of General Hooker tension was somewhat relieved by General Meade's insistence that he should be regarded as a guest while General Hooker was present.

General Reynolds, when he heard the news, rode with his staff to headquarters to pay his respects to the new commanding general. This was a graceful act and was gracefully received and warmly appreciated by General Meade who told General Reynolds how helpless he would hold himself to be without his support. Reynolds replied that the command had fallen where it belonged and that Meade might count upon the best support he could give him. The unselfish loyalty of these two splendid soldiers will be remembered as long as the English language remains the language of a people.

CHAPTER IV.

George Gordon Meade

Born at Cadiz, known as the Silver City of Spain, December 31st, 1815, where his father and family had been called by the demands of business. In 1820, the family returned to America. The father died during the year 1828.

September 1st, 1831, the young man entered the Military Academy at West Point credited to Pennsylvania, graduating (19) in the class of 1835, and beginning his military career at once.

During our war with Mexico (1846) he was brevetted for gallant and meritorious services. In the period that preceded our war of 1861-1865, he was engaged in the geodetic survey of the Great Lakes with the grade of captain of topographical engineers. In the organization of the permanent national army after first Bull Run, he was chosen by Governor Curtin to command one of the brigades of his corps d'elite, The Pennsylvania Reserves, then assembled at Tennytown, in the District of Columbia, under Major-General George A. McCall, a veteran of the Mexican war.

August 31st, 1861, he was commissioned Brigadier-General of Volunteers and assigned to com-

mand the second brigade of a division composed entirely of one State's troops, the first and third brigades commanded by Brigadiers John F. Reynolds and Edward O. C. Ord.

October 9th, the division broke camp at Tennyallytown, crossed the Potomac by the Chain bridge, marched four miles into the then enemy territory taking post on the right of the new army formed to confront the attempt at secession, with headquarters at Langley, on the Georgetown and Leesburg pike. The camp thus established was known as "Camp Pierpont," named for the first governor of the new state, West Virginia.

*

The winter of 1861-1862 was favorable for military operations—the roads hard and smooth. October 31st, General Winfield Scott retired from the service as commander-in-chief of the armies on account of his advanced age, having served his flag long and well.

The grade of Lieutenant-general, that had been created for the commander-in-chief, went out with him. Major-General George B. McClellan, without change of grade, succeeded to the command by President Lincoln's appointment.

By the end of September, 1862, the Confederacy had assembled its new levies for the prose-

cution of its war, and concentrated on the old Bull-Run line from Centreville, Va., to Manassas, under the command of Major-General Joseph E. Johnston, who had succeeded Major-General Beauregard.

A line of fortifications and military roads connecting strong forts protected the capital, with seven divisions on the right bank of the Potomac, commanded by Generals McCall, Smith, Fitz John Porter, McDowell, Blenker, Franklin and Heintzleman, encamped in the order named from the military right to left. The other divisions under Generals Banks, Stone, Keyes, and Hooker, on the left bank of the river above and below Washington City, the Regular regiments, and Volunteer regiments not formed into divisions, occupied the defenses of the city, all under the immediate command of General McClellan.

October 15th, 1861, presented at this date, including troops for the garrisons of Baltimore and Annapolis, a total force of 152,000 men with 228 pieces of field artillery. Providing for the defense of the capital. General McClellan finds himself at the head of a splendid young army of 75,000 men and 140 guns thoroughly equipped and provided with ample transportation.

A strange hesitancy prevailed at the field headquarters of this army. It lacked nothing

that an army should have except actual contact with its enemy on the field. The last advice to the head of an expedition into the then "No Man's Land" was, "Don't bring on a general engagement!" "Hell!" the boys would say as soon as they heard it, "What are we here for?"

It is true that hind-sight is better than foresight when we formulate our judgments on the events that pass: We read General McClellan's troubles from his official reports, and find him constantly confronted by a force double his own. We know now that the Confederate force at Centreville numbered, October 31st, 66,243 men in all, of whom only 44,130 were present for duty. It would take too long to explain the reason for this condition—we can only make a "headline." The Intelligence Department—a citizen detective force taken bodily from a force engaged in tracing crime, with its chief at its head, instead of training active young spirits who would take military chances learning to distinguish between a column of cavalry and a battalion of artillery, or count the strength of a marching column by its flags. Sim Dipsey, a three star detective, would have to attend such a school.

The writer is taking a lot of your time with this slant at the theme because he wishes you to understand a situation that developes in the story

of the first victory in the first battle fought and won by the new Army of the Potomac—Dranesville, December 20th, 1861.

THE BATTLE OF DRANESVILLE, DEC. 20TH, 1861

The First Virginia Cavalry was evidently to be the corps d'elite—or the First Dragoons—of the C. S. A. Colonel J. E. B. Stuart, was its first commander, but this gallant cavalryman soon gathered to himself a brigade of which he became the brigadier-general.

If I were permitted to carve out an equi-lateral triangle from “the land of no-man” between the contending armies, I would take the Leesburg pike from the camps of the Pennsylvania Reserves to Dranesville, say twelve miles toward the great valley of Virginia, thence to Centreville, the headquarters of the C. S. A., another twelve miles, then back to the camp of the Reserves on the Leesburg-Georgetown pike, say another twelve miles.

Between the Potomac River and Dranesville was the Gunnell farm, where had been collected a large amount of valuable forage very useful to an army.

General Stuart, the cavalry officer, borrowed four infantry regiments, a battery of artillery,

which, with the equivalent of two regiments of cavalry, a party strong enough for any contingency, broke camp at daylight on the morning of the 20th, with enough wagons to carry off the "bacon." The Centreville road crossed the Leesburg pike west of the town of Dranesville on its way to the river past the Gunnell farm.

At daylight same morning, Ord's brigade, Easton's battery, and six companies of the First Pennsylvania Cavalry, of the Pennsylvania Reserves, broke camp for the purpose of intercepting the Centreville expedition.

At noon the Third brigade (Ord's) arrived at Dranesville; the First brigade of the division (Reynolds) at Difficult Creek, half-way from the camp to the field; the Second brigade (Meade) in column of route in camp waiting for orders. It is fair to state that Stuart was similarly supported from his camps at Centreville, that could and would have supported the expedition. It is sure the morale of the Army of the Potomac was never better at any period of the war, nor were its units ever better prepared to fight.

Two companies, H and I, of the cavalry regiment, Easton's battery of four napoleons, and the Ninth Penna. Reserve Infantry, the head of the column, halted in the pike opposite the

Thornton House before passing to a little hill just beyond the western edge of the town.

The road dipped down into a little valley, passed through the village, then rising again with the little hill which was crowned by the village church. On the Thornton side of the village, the Little River pike made a sharp Y with the main pike and led to Alexandria. At this junction a dirt road led off to the south that intercepted the Centreville road a few miles out. Several companies of our cavalry regiment were sent with the wagons to the Gunnell farm.

Stuart, to have reached the Gunnell farm, would have had to cross the main pike in our front, or west of the town. He saw us, of course, and made a demonstration in our front that led the head of our column to pass through the town to the little hill where a battle-line was formed with the two companies of cavalry, a section of the battery, and the Ninth Reserves. The other units remained east of the town and covered the road entering to the pike from the Centreville road: The old Bucktail regiment and the Sixth Reserves south of the pike, the Tenth and Twelfth Reserves north of the pike in reserve and in support of the battery position subsequently used by Easton's guns. Stuart evidently guessed that our whole force was west of the town, and

stripped for fight for the position on the rising ground east of the town, sending his battery, The Sumter Flying Artillery, Captain Cutts, forward to within four hundred yards of the pike. The Ninth Reserves, at the sound of the first gun, entered the woods on its left by the flank, the cavalry companies and artillery section back through the town, one of the guns over-turning in the ditch by the road-side as we went up the hill on the gallop. The cavalry remained in the woods on the pike in support of the battery.

Easton dropped his guns in battery at the junction of the two pikes and opened fire. His second shot exploded the limber caisson of the Confederate battery, making the most horrible entanglement of dead and dying horses and men ever seen by a farm boy that lacked months of his seventeenth birth-day.

The firing-line on our side was composed of the Bucktails, Sixth, and Ninth Reserves, two companies of cavalry and Easton's four guns, with the Tenth and Twelfth Reserves in reserve.

The First brigade of the Pennsylvania Reserves was in column on the pike at Difficult Creek, when General Reynolds heard the first gun of the battle. General Meade started his column at the sound of the same guns from the general camp. Major General McCall and staff

made a flying start for the front—and where do you suppose he caught up with General Reynolds? That officer had left the pike to cut across to the Centrefield road and the Confederate rear of the fight. He was halted and told by his division commander that the Commander-in-Chief of the army did not wish a “general engagement” at that time.

The battle lasted one hour of fighting. General McCall arrived and told General Ord he was doing so well that he could continue in command.

The 11th Virginia pulled Capt. Cutt’s guns off by prolonge. Lady Astor’s father, “Chilly” Langhorne, was a member of this Virginia regiment and present at this battle.

The Sumter (Ga.) Battery had 3 men killed and 15 wounded. The battery belonged to Lane’s battalion of artillery of Hill’s Corps at Gettysburg.

Confederate loss at Dranesville was 43 killed, 143 wounded, and 8 missing. The Federal casualties were 7 killed, 5 officers and 56 men wounded.

But for the precautional order that for a while seemed to follow every movement of the Army of the Potomac—the commanding general does not wish to bring on a general engagement—General

J. E. B. Stuart's entire command would have been captured in this battle.

There never was a moment during the Civil War that the men were more fit or eager to fight than at this time. The battle earned for Edward O. C. Ord a major-general's commission, breaking up that splendid trio of brigadiers,—Reynolds, Meade, and Ord.

M'CALL, REYNOLDS AND MEADE, IN FRONT OF RICHMOND.

In the corps organization of the Army of the Potomac by President Lincoln, that became effective March 8th, 1862, McCall's division of Penna. Reserves was chosen for the Second Division of the First Corps, with Reynolds, Meade and Seymour as the brigadiers, Ord having been promoted to Major-general for the work of the brigade at Dranesville, Va.

Early in June of 1862, the division was detached from the First Corps and sent to McClellan's army then in front of Richmond. It was assigned to Fitz John Porter's (Fifth Provisional) Corps, and took post on the 19th, on the left bank of the Chickahominy within sound of the church bells of the capital city of the Confederacy.

It was at this point that the first of the seven days of battle in front of Richmond was fought, known in the annals of war as the battle of Mechanicsville, Thursday, June 26th, 1862.

Beaver Dam Creek, an estuary of the Chickahominy entering that stream at Ellerson's Mill, was chosen as the line of fight. On the left bank of the stream were what is commonly known as creek bottoms, subject to the frequent overflows of the erratic Chickahominy and rains of the early summer. The brigades lay along the higher ground with the swampy creek bottoms between them and the stream: A two brigade front with Reynolds on the right, Seymour on the left and Meade in reserve. The other two divisions of the corps at Gaines' Mill further down the river.

June 26th, 1862, from 3:00 P. M. until dark, General Lee directed, in person, the attack of two of his divisions and a brigade of the third, against this Pennsylvania line.

The abrupt banks of the Chickahominy make innumerable bridges necessary, three of which were used by the Confederates in this fight, the Mechanicsville bridge, and the Meadow bridge that crossed the Chickahominy River above the mouth of Brook Run, and the Brook Run bridge seven miles above the last named crossing.

Stonewall Jackson had set his watch to appear on the flank of this movement from the Valley of Virginia, but did not appear.

The "red shirt in battle," that element in war as well as in private life, that cannot be controlled when the hour fixed has arrived, with the precipitancy of a division commander, that had a curious sequel at Cashtown a year later, brought on a furious battle and check to the Southern program, in the presence of the citizens of Richmond who came out to see a battle,—that converted their city into a hospital that night.

General A. P. Hill crossed Meadow Bridge at 3:00 P. M., with five of his brigades and six four-gun batteries, sending his sixth brigade to the Brook Run bridge seven miles above for position on the flank of the fight. During the progress of the fight that began against Reynolds' brigade, and was repulsed, General Longstreet's division crossed at the Mechanicsville bridge, followed by Ripley's brigade of the division of D. H. Hill.

Ripley's brigade went in accompanied by five additional four-gun batteries, the battle raging on the Ellerson Mill end of the line, brave men, new to war, repeatedly charging other brave men just as new to the game, until night put an end to the slaughter. The 44th Georgia had 344 officers and men killed and wounded. Of the 1st N. C.,

the colonel, major, adjutant, and six captains were killed, with 133 men killed and wounded. Many helpless men lay wounded between the lines that night.

The total casualties of the Pennsylvania Reserves in this engagement amounted to 361 officers and men killed and wounded. The Confederate loss is given by Longstreet in a post-war statement as not less than 2,000 and may have been 3,000.

During the night, General McClellan ordered the division withdrawn, which was accomplished without the loss of a man or gun.

June 27th, the next day, two-thirds of Lee's army was on the left bank of the Chickahominy River, leaving only the divisions of Huger and Magruder on the south side, that the Pinkerton service magnified to four times their number. Stonewall Jackson had arrived with his two divisions from the Valley of Virginia—his own and Ewell's—with Whiting's division that had been ostentatiously sent out of Richmond to convey the idea that General Lee was reinforcing the Valley army.

The battle at Gaines' Mill, June 27th, 1862, was fought by a single corps of McClellan's army, the Fifth Provisional Corps, General Fitz John Porter in command with the divisions of

Sykes, Morell and McCall, on the north, or left banks of the Chickahominy, confronted by the Confederate divisions of A. P. Hill, D. H. Hill, and the Stonewall division with Ewell's and Whiting's divisions—and Longstreet's division in reserve coming in at the finish.

Understand that this is not a critical narrative of the battles in front of Richmond in 1862—the writer is only following the trail of the Pennsylvania Reserve Division (McCall's) in which George Gordon Meade, at that time, was a brigadier. It is true also that the writer of today has the advantage of hind-sight in formulating his theories, with the further observation that hind-sight serves no useful purpose, since after reading a story of the situation, another or similar situation comes to the front, we stick our little pink-noses in the hot swill again, pull them out and squeal.

General Porter fought his battle with his back to the stream, a little river, with New bridge, Duane's bridge, Woodbury's bridge, Alexander's bridge and the Grapevine bridge, available for crossing or recrossing. Why did he not retire, you ask; because Fitz John Porter, nor his men were built that way, and they had every right to expect re-inforcement from the other four corps of McClellan's army across the river within easy

support, the right of its entrenched lines at the Golding clearing not more than three miles from the stream. Why did not McClellan cross, you might ask.

How well Porter's three divisions fought may be shown by the following dispatch received before sunset by General Longstreet from his commanding general, "All other efforts have failed and unless you can do something the day is lost." Longstreet called into action from the reserve, broke the thin worn line of blue. The crossing of a division from the other side of the river, enabled Porter's fought-out men to cross. Twenty-two guns were left behind, three of them run off the bridge during the final withdrawal.

The reserve artillery corps of the army—18 batteries—was parked at the Trent Farm on the south side of the river opposite the Grapevine bridge. After the two battles on the north side, General McClellan decides to change his army base to the James River. He selected the Pennsylvania Reserves to convoy these guns to the new base.

The division did not take a part in the battle of the 28th, the third of the seven days of fight. Early in the afternoon of the 29th, it crossed the White Oak swamp and parked the artillery on the first firm ground south of it, and is posted

to repel an attack from the direction of Richmond. This duty relieved it from a part in the fight of the 29th, the fourth of the battle series. At 5:00 P. M., the artillery now out of danger, the division continued towards the James River. When the head of the column reached the New Market road it turned to the right, under orders, to take the Quaker road at the crossing of the Charles City and New Market roads, to Turkey Bend on the James. During this night march there was a hopeless jumble of orders until the division was directed to camp by the road-side to wait daylight. The other two divisions of the corps, having found the new road, continued their march to the river, leaving the Reserves almost within the camps of the enemy.

The next day, the 30th, the division fulfilled its destiny—holding off the divisions of Longstreet and A. P. Hill until the army had made possible the strong position at Malvern Hill on the James.

This fight is known as the Battle of Charles City Cross-roads, the brunt of which fell upon the Pennsylvania Reserves. Its vicious nature is better shown by the results in a short script: General Reynolds, commanding the first brigade is captured; his successor in command, Colonel Simmons, of the Fifth regiment, is killed; Gen-

eral McCall, the division commander, is taken prisoner; and General Meade, commanding the Second brigade, is wounded twice—once in the arm, the other ball entering the body above the hip-joint passing out near the spine.

With these wounds, General Meade attempted to remain on the field, until compelled to retire by loss of blood, he was placed in an ambulance and taken to the James River.

The next day, July 1st, was fought the Battle of Malvern Hill, that resulted in a bloody repulse to the Confederate army. The Pennsylvania Reserves lay on the plateau in this fight in reserve.

It was through such scenes and such experience as the battles of the 26th and 27th afforded, and other battles and events, that led George Gordon Meade to the command of that army—the old Army of the Potomac, where he remained until Appomattox.

An organized “retour offensif” would have scattered General Lee’s broken brigades and have followed the beaten fragments into the defenses of Richmond. General McClellan withdrew his army that night to Westover, on the James (Harrison’s Landing) and his investment of the Confederate Capital passed into history.

In the Manassas campaign (Second Bull Run) that followed, The Pennsylvania Reserve division, commanded by General Reynolds, who had been exchanged, with Meade, recovered, leading his old brigade, again distinguished themselves with their usual gallantry and fighting spirit.

With General Lee's invasion of Maryland the division of Pennsylvania Reserves was restored to its old First Corps with General Meade in command. At South Mountain, September 14th, 1862, the division under Meade pressed slowly and surely up the mountain-side, driving its enemy posted behind rocks and trees until the crest was cleared.

The Confederate General, D. H. Hill, speaking of this fight, said, "Meade was one of our most dreaded foes; he was always in deadly earnest, and he eschewed all trifling. Under him were brigade commanders, officers, and men worthy of his leadership." A splendid tribute from a brave opponent.

On the bloody field of Antietam General Meade commanded the division and opened with it the fight on the morning of September 17th, 1862. General Hooker, the corps commander, is wounded and General Meade assumes command, (The old First Corps). Battles fought in

detail were still in vogue with Federal field headquarters, and the divisions of Sykes' (Regulars) and Morell's (Volunteers), now constituting the Fifth Corps, were silent spectators of this, the bloodiest one-day battle of the war, that lasted from dawn until dark—and the pink noses of the little pigs continue to be burned.

On the 7th of November following, at Warrenton, Va., General McClellan loses, definitely, the command of the Army of the Potomac, and is replaced by Major-General Ambrose E. Burnside, who commanded the Ninth Corps. It is no more than fair to the memory of this modest soldier to say that he did not seek or wish the appointment.

The new commander decided to move upon Richmond from the line of the Rappahannock, choosing Fredericksburg, Va., as the place of crossing the river, and put his army in motion for that purpose. We'll spare you the details by saying that General Lee's army beat him to the crossing.

At Fredericksburg General Reynolds returned to the front to be assigned to the command of the old First Corps, General Meade retaining command of the division.

The story of this battle is rough stuff for the survivor of those, red days to read. Out of the

gloom shines one bright light as grateful to our eyes as the flash of the harbor light to the man on the bridge of a storm-tossed vessel—the story of the charge of the division led by General George Gordon Meade, the Pennsylvania Reserves.

The division advanced across the plain with a cavalry regiment in skirmish order across its front. Then on up to the wooded heights occupied by Stonewall Jackson's lines, then through these lines to their camps beyond. Jackson in command of the right wing of Lee's army, rallied his lines as if in contact with the whole of the Grand Division that had crossed the river at Franklin's crossing. The rally was against a single division—General Meade, who without support, was compelled to withdraw, bringing off prisoners and flags. The division reformed on the ground of its first line where it remained until the army recrossed the river.

Two brave brigaders lost their lives in this fight—Conrad F. Jackson, of the Pennsylvania Reserves, and Maxey Gregg, who died rallying his South Carolinians, a brigade that fought at the Seminary on the first day of July, 1863, commanded by one of its colonels, Colonel Abner Perrin.

The cavalry regiment that skirmished for the

division as it crossed the plain, was The First Pennsylvania Reserve Cavalry.

A Waynesburg, Pa., sergeant, assembled the remnant of his regiment at the starting point of the charge. Later, he becomes its colonel.

On the 24th of June, 1863, General Hooker suggested to General Halleck that the new troops arriving in Washington and Baltimore, be put in the defenses and the old ones, except those serving with the artillery, be put in marching condition. He sent his chief of staff [General Butterfield] to Washington and Baltimore to ascertain the strength and location of Heintzelman and Schenck's commands and, if possible, to organize and put in motion a column of at least fifteen thousand men on the national road to Frederick, Md. Halleck considered it unsafe to take any more troops from the defenses of Washington and Butterfield's mission failed.

Meanwhile General Hooker crossed his army at Edwards' Ferry, sending the twelfth [Slocum] Corps to Harper's Ferry, where he fully expected French's division, stationed there, would be made part of his command. His purpose was to throw the Twelfth Corps [9,000] and French's Division [11,000] into the Cumberland Valley by way of Sharpsburg, under Slocum's direction,

on the line of communication of Lee's army then threatening Harrisburg, sending the Eleventh [Howard] Corps, the Third [Sickles] Corps and the First [Reynolds] Corps, all under command of General Reynolds, to Middletown, in the Catoctin Valley, in close support within one day's march of the Cumberland Valley by way of Boonesboro; this precaution to prevent Slocum from being crushed by the swift return of Lee's hard-marching legions, and to be on the flank of such a movement should it occur. General Buford, with his division of cavalry, was also sent to Middletown as soon as Reynold's wing had gathered there.

Hooker who had accompanied Slocum to Harper's Ferry, returned to Frederick, where he hoped to find a favorable response to the very reasonable demand for French's division.

When General Hooker returned from Harper's Ferry to Frederick, he fully expected to find a telegram awaiting him from Washington admitting his proposition concerning French's Division, forgetting the alternative.

There was a curt refusal of that demand by the War Office, but the alternative had not escaped their minds, and immediate preparation was made for a change of the command.

On the evening of June 27th, an assistant ad-

Adjutant general of the War Department, General James A. Hardie, arrived at Frederick in citizen dress, with the following order, which was first taken to General Meade's quarters, then, before daylight on the 28th, delivered to General Hooker at his quarters by General Hardie accompanied by General Meade:

War Department, Adjt.-Gen's. Office,
Washington, June 27th, 1863.

General Orders, No. 194.

By direction of the President, Major-General Joseph Hooker is relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac, and Major-General George G. Meade is appointed to the command of that army, and of the troops temporarily assigned to duty with it.

By order of the Secretary of War:

E. D. TOWNSEND,
Assistant Adjutant General.

Every general in the army knew that a change in the command was impending, and every man of them, including General Meade, believed that the choice would fall upon General Reynolds of the First Corps. That splendid officer rode over to General Meade's quarters that morning with congratulations and assurance of his support.

The new commander spent a busy day with General Hooker, and his chief of staff in the work necessary to the change in command.

Generals Hardie and Hooker left Frederick that evening, the former for Washington, the latter for Baltimore.

JUNE 28TH,

TWO GENERAL ORDERS

Headquarters Army of the Potomac,

June 28, 1863.

General Orders, No. 66.

In conformity with the orders of the War Department, dated June 27, 1863, I relinquish the command of the Army of the Potomac. It is transferred to Major General George G. Meade, a brave and accomplished officer, who has nobly earned the confidence and esteem of this army on many a well-fought field.

Impressed with the belief that my usefulness as commander of the Army of the Potomac is impaired, I part from it, yet not without the deepest emotion.

The sorrow of parting with the comrades of so many battles, is relieved by the conviction that the courage and devotion of this army will never cease nor fail; that it will yield to my successor, as it has to me, a willing and hearty support.

With the earnest prayer that the triumphs of its arms may bring successes worthy of it and the nation, I bid it farewell.

JOSEPH HOOKER,
Major-General.

Headquarters Army of the Potomac,

June 28, 1863.

General Orders, No. 67.

By direction of the President of the United States,

I hereby assume command of the Army of the Potomac.

As a soldier, in obeying this order—an order totally unexpected, unsolicited—I have no promises or pledges to make.

The country looks to this army to relieve it from the devastation and disgrace of a hostile invasion. Whatever fatigues and sacrifices we may be called upon to undergo, let us have in view constantly the magnitude of the interests involved, and let each man determine to do his duty, leaving to an all-controlling Providence the decision of the contest.

It is with just diffidence that I relieve in command of this army an eminent and accomplished soldier, whose name must ever appear conspicuous in the history of its achievements; but I rely upon the support of my companions in arms to assist me in the discharge of the duties of the important trust which has been confided to me.

GEO. G. MEADE,
Major-General Commanding.

Headquarters Army of the Potomac,
Frederick, Md., June 28, 1863, 2:30 P. M.

MAJ.-GEN. H. W. HALLECK, *General-in-Chief*:

I shall return tonight. I have been waiting for the formal order of the late commander before telegraphing. This is now written. I have had a chance to ascertain the feeling and internal condition of the army. There is cause for satisfaction with it. The late commander leaves for Baltimore this afternoon.

JAS. A. HARDIE,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

General Hardie was the confidential messenger of the War Office who arrived at Frederick

late in the evening of June 27, *en mufti* with the two orders above recited. Harrison, a Longstreet scout arrived on the same train from Washington City. He bought a horse at a livery stable the next morning and arrived at the headquarters of General Longstreet near Chambersburg at midnight with information that changed the whole character of the Pennsylvania campaign.

At Frederick, the whole of the day, (Sunday, 28th.), was devoted to the work involved in the **change of commanders.**

MEADE IN THE SADDLE:

When General Meade took command, although he was given French's division, he did not accept Hooker's Cumberland Valley plan but, after resting his army for a day [28th], began the march northward that resulted in "Gettysburg" and the defeat of the Confederate campaign. On the 29th the roads leading to the Susquehanna on the east side of South Mountain range, were filled with Meade's marching columns, his objective point Lee's army to give battle as soon as that army could be found. He found Reynolds where Hooker had assembled the three corps under his command—at Middletown. Consistent with his plans, as then developed, he with-

drew Reynolds to the east side of the Catoclin range and directed him northward towards Emmitsburg; Buford, with two of his brigades, was sent westward, crossing the South Mountain range to Boonesboro, thence to Cavetown, recrossing the mountain at Monterey, camping the night of the 29th at Fountaindale, within striking distance of two regiments of Davis' brigade of Heth's division and a section of artillery sent to Fairfield by Heth to protect his flank—the division then at Cashtown.

On the 30th, General Meade knew that General Lee had abandoned his movement upon Harrisburg and was crossing his army to the east side of the South Mountain range, and that he might expect to come in contact with that army, or some portion of it, at any moment. Headquarters of the army were at Taneytown. The First [Doubleday] Corps and the Eleventh [Howard] Corps were at Emmitsburg under Reynolds; the Third [Sickles] Corps between the latter place and Meade's headquarters; the Second [Hancock] Corps at Uniontown; the Fifth [Sykes] Corps at Union Mills; the Twelfth [Slocum] Corps at Littlestown; Buford on his way to Gettysburg, Kilpatrick at Hanover and Gregg at Manchester. The orders for the day [30th] were: Third Corps to Emmitsburg;

Second Corps to Taneytown; Fifth Corps to Hanover; First Corps to Gettysburg [or in supporting distance]; Sixth Corps at Manchester; and the Twelfth Corps to Two Taverns [5 miles from Gettysburg]. With this order of march Meade informed his corps commanders that Longstreet and Hill were at Chambersburg, partly towards Gettysburg; Ewell at Carlisle and York. As the army moved northward, Frederick was abandoned as a base of supplies and Westminster, admirably situated for the purpose, selected for a base.

General Meade, now aware that his wily foe had relinquished his hold on the Susquehanna, and was concentrating somewhere on his front, instructed his engineers to select some point where, by a rapid movement of concentration, battle could be given on ground of his own selection. The line on Pipe-Clay Creek was selected as such a line, running from Middleburg, Md., northeast, the Parr range of mountains at its back with Westminster, the new base of supplies, at the only practicable gap. With the selection of this line—that was to be occupied in the event of certain contingencies—General Meade issued a preliminary order informing his corps commanders that such a line *might possibly be adopted*, in which event, they were directed how

to move their corps and what their positions should be on this line. It will not be over-looked that this order, that has been variously and viciously twisted in its meaning, was redacted on the night of the 30th of June, and issued on the morning of July 1st, *before any possible information had reached General Meade that General Lee was advancing on Gettysburg.*

This order will not be recited here, except that portion of it bearing on the field movement of General Reynolds' command. It is dated at Taneytown, July 1st, 1863, and says—

“It is no longer his [The Commanding General] intention to assume the offensive until the enemy's movements or position should render such an operation certain of success. If the enemy assume the offensive and attack, it is his intention, after holding them in check sufficiently long to withdraw the trains and other impedimenta, to withdraw the army from its present position, and form line of battle with the left resting in the neighborhood of Middleburg, and the right at Manchester, the general direction being that of Pipe Creek.”

This was a circular order sent to each corps commander and, that it was a contingent order, is shown by the following paragraph:

“The time for falling back can only be developed by circumstances. Whenever such circumstances arise as would seem to indicate the necessity for falling back and assuming this general line indi-

cated, notice of such movement will be at once communicated to these headquarters and to all adjoining corps commanders.”

It is not known that Reynolds’ received this order—the presumption is that he did not. Nor do we know that Howard received it, as at the time it was issued the former was on his way to Gettysburg, the latter following in support.

We do know, however, that Sickles received it. This officer rejoined the army at Frederick, Md., the day Meade assumed the command (28th). In the march northward that began on the 29th Sickles was at the head of his corps. On the evening of that day he received from army headquarters the following note:

“I am directed by the commanding general to inform you that the train of your corps is at a standstill at Middleburg, and delaying, of course, all movements in the rear. He wishes you to give immediate and personal attention to keeping your train in motion.”

[Signed] SETH WILLIAMS,

This note was followed on the 30th by another:

“The commanding general noticed with regret the very slow movement of your corps yesterday. It is presumed you marched at an early hour, and up to 6 P. M. the rear of your column had not passed Middleburg, distant from your camp of the night

before some 12 miles only. * * * The Second Corps in the same space of time made a march nearly double your own * * *"

[Signed] SETH WILLIAMS,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

General Sickles, in his testimony to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, states that he arrived at Emmitsburg on the night of the 30th, taking position in front of and to the left of the town on the morning of July 1st, facing Gettysburg and covering by order of General Reynolds, the roads leading from that point. It was here he received General Meade's circular order. His interpretation of that order is shown in his testimony above referred to. He says:

"The army was to fall back, and not follow up the enemy any further. * * * The circular indicated a line of retreat, the new position to which we were to fall back being substantially the line of what is known as Pipe Creek."

Not a word of its contingent nature.

When asked by a member of the Committee, "How many days was that before the battle of Gettysburg commenced?" he replied, "* * * The day Reynolds fell, that is it was the day which is popularly understood to be the day the battle commenced. *We in the army do not regard the operation of the two corps under General Reynolds as properly the battle of Gettys-*

burg.” [The italics are ours.] Of course, the battle at Gettysburg did not begin, and the army properly placed and fought until, “*We in the army*” had arrived with our corps.

On receipt of the circular order Sickles immediately proceeded to make such preparations as would “enable me to execute my part in the movement.” Between two and three o’clock in the afternoon he heard from Howard at Gettysburg—the First and Eleventh Corps had been engaged with a superior force and Reynolds had fallen. He was urged by Howard to come to their relief. He further states to the Committee: “I, of course, considered the question very anxiously. My preliminary orders in going to Gettysburg were to go there and hold that position with my corps, as it was regarded as a very important flanking position, to cover our rear and line of communication.” Had he marched as promptly on the day of the 29th and 30th as Hancock had marched he would have been in position on the first day to have thrown the two splendid divisions of his corps into the fight and, in his mind, the battle of the first day might have begun the battle of Gettysburg. To his credit be it said that, after having settled the matter in his own mind, he pushed a portion of his corps forward by forced march arriving with the

brigades of Graham and Ward, of Birney's division, between five and six o'clock P. M., and was put into position by Hancock's direction on Cemetery Ridge on the left of the army then up.

"GENERAL MEADE'S FIRST ORDER OF MARCH:"

With a few brief words to his corps commanders to guard their trains and camps on the march * * * A staff officer to report to army headquarters morning and evening for orders; and to report their corps positions; the following order of march for June 29th is given out:

Headquarters, Army of the Potomac,
June 28th, 1863.

Orders:

The army will march tomorrow as follows:

4:00 A. M. The First Corps, Major-General Reynolds, by Lewistown and Mechanicstown, to Emmitsburg.

4:00 A. M. The Eleventh Corps, Major-General Howard, by Utica and Creagerstown, to Emmitsburg.

4:00 A. M. The Twelfth Corps, Major-General Slocum, by Ceresville, Walkersville, Woodsborough, to Taneytown.

4:00 A. M. The Second Corps, Major-General Hancock, by Johnsville, Liberty, and Union, to Frizellburg.

4:00 A. M. The Third Corps, Major-General Sickles, by Woodsborough and Middleburg (from Walkersville), to Taneytown.

The Fifth Corps will follow the Second Corps, moving at 8 A. M.

The Sixth Corps, by roads to the right of the Fifth and Second Corps, to New Windsor.

The Reserve Artillery will precede the Twelfth Corps at 4 A. M., and camp between Middleburg and Taneytown.

General Lockwood, with his command, will report to, and march with, the Twelfth Corps.

The Engineers and the bridge train will follow the Fifth Corps.

Headquarters will move at 8 A. M., and be tomorrow night at Middleburg.

Headquarters Train will move by Ceresville and Woodsborough to Middleburg at 8 A. M.

The cavalry will guard the right and left flanks and the rear, and give the commanding general information of the movements of the enemy in our front.

Strong exertions are required and must be made to prevent straggling.

By command of Major-General Meade,

S. F. BARSTOW,

Assistant Adjutant-General.

June 29, the new captain put his army in motion with a vigor that surprised the sore-heads and pleased its friends. General Lee, on the

and front, connecting with the Third Division at Littlestown.

By command of Major-General Pleasonton,

A. J. ALEXANDER,

Chief of Staff and A. A. G.

The day following the appointment of Captains Farnsworth and Custer to the grade of Brigadier-General from that of staff captains, they were given this assignment accompanied by Pennington's (M, 2d. U. S.) and Elder's (E, 4th. U. S.) batteries, that resulted in a battle with Stuart's Confederate Cavalry in the streets of Hanover, Pa. This encounter shunted General Stuart's column off its given route (To Carlisle by way of the Mount Holly Gap), compelling it to a day and a nights continuous march via Jefferson to Dover, Pa., (July 1st), thence to Carlisle, and Gettysburg on the second day of the battles.

GENERAL MEADE'S INSTRUCTIONS TO HIS CAVALRY

June 30, 1863.

Commanding Officer Cavalry Corps:

The major general commanding directs me to say that it is of the utmost importance to him that he

receives reliable information of the presence of the enemy, his forces, and his movements. * * * People in the country are so frightened that he must depend solely upon the cavalry for all the information he can gain.

He looks to you to keep him informed of their movements, and especially that no force concentrates on his right, in the vicinity of York, to get between him and the Susquehanna, and also that no force moves on his left towards Hagerstown and the passes below Cashtown.

Your cavalry force is large and must be vigilant and active. The reports must be those gained by the cavalry themselves, and information sent in must be reliable. * * Cavalry battles must be secondary to this subject * * *.

S. WILLIAMS,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

General Meade's directions to his cavalry changed, somewhat, the dispositions of his cavalry chief of the day before: General Buford taking Gamble's and Devin's brigades with Calef's (2d. U. S.) Battery, crossing the South Mountain range at Boonesboro the morning of the 29th, sending Merritt's brigade to Mechanics-town. Buford spent the day on the west side of the mountain range, recrossing at Monterey and camping at Fountaindale, near Fairfield.

He broke camp early next morning (30th) for Gettysburg where he expected to meet Kilpatrick with the new Third Division. Near Fairfield he discovered the camp of the flanking party

(two regiments and a battery) sent down by Heth of Hill's Corps from Cashtown.

General Buford notes in his official report that "the inhabitants knew of my arrival and the position of the enemy camp, yet not one of them gave me a particle of information, nor even mentioned the fact of the enemy's presence. Had any one given me timely information, and acted as guide that night, I might have surprised and captured the force, which proved to be, next day, two Mississippi regiments and two guns." He determined not to disturb this force for fear the cannonading from that quarter might disarrange the plans of the general commanding.

He turned his column towards Emmitsburg without serious molestation, reported his news to General Reynolds, and was soon on his way to Gettysburg, where he arrived in time to meet the scouts of Pettigrew's brigade of Heth's Division that had arrived on Herr's Ridge from Cashtown.

THE DAY BEFORE THE BATTLE AT GETTYSBURG.

General Pettigrew retired his brigade by the Cashtown-Gettysburg road to Marsh Creek, went into camp and reported to his division commander. General Buford entered the town by the Emmitsburg-Gettysburg road, passed to the

depression immediately west of Seminary Ridge and camped Gamble's brigade and Calef's battery south of the pike and the old tapeworn road-bed, with Devin's brigade to the north with pickets and vedettes on all roads leading to the town from the north.

June 30th, 1863:

Buford's Cavalry Division: Two brigades at Gettysburg, Pa.; One brigade at Mechanics-town, Md.

Gregg's Cavalry Division: Three brigades at Manchester, Md.

Kilpatrick's Cavalry Division: Two brigades at Hanover, Pa.

The First Corps	On Marsh Creek, Pa.
The Second Corps	At Uniontown, Md.
The Third Corps	At Bridgeport, Md.
The Fifth Corps	At Union Mills, Md.
The Sixth Corps	At Manchester, Md.
The Eleventh Corps	At Emmitsburg, Md.
The Twelfth Corps	At Littlestown, Pa.

A preponderance of artillery favored the Union cause at Gettysburg: Batteries and guns were allotted as follows:

	<i>Batteries</i>	<i>Guns</i>
To the Seven Infantry Corps	37	168
To the Artillery Reserve	19	108
To the Cavalry (Horse Artillery) ...	9	44
Left at Westminster (Army Supply Base)	2	8
	<hr/> 67	<hr/> 328

The night of this day was a busy night for Buford's two brigades and Calef's (2d. U. S.) battery in the little depression between Seminary Ridge and McPherson's grove. General Buford reports that no information of value could be obtained from the people.

MAJOR-GENERAL REYNOLDS:

The attitude of this brave soldier heartened the new commander of the old Army of the Potomac in the grave responsibility so suddenly thrust upon him: His old comrade in arms scrupulously dressed himself that Sunday morning in the full regalia of his rank and rode, with his staff, to the headquarters of the Army at Frederick, Md., to tender every ounce of help with which he was possessed, to Major-General George G. Meade—a man is, indeed fortunate, who possesses such a friend.

At sunset of this day, the eve of the battle, Major-General Howard, received a message to call upon General Reynolds at his headquarters on Marsh Creek. He was shown an order from the commanding general. The purport of this paper was that a general engagement was imminent, the issues involved immense, and all commanders urged to extraordinary exertions. The two men separated never to meet again in life.

It is to be regretted that, of the three corps composing the advanced wing of the army, the Third, (General Sickles) at Bridgeport, Md., should be out of marching support to the other two in the fierce battle of the next day. The gravity of the situation was understood by General Meade, but clearly misinterpreted by the untrained soldier in command of the Third Corps.

The officers and men of the old Kearny and Hooker divisions that composed the Third Corps, were not responsible for the delayed marches of the 29th and 30th of June for which their commanding general received two caustic call-downs from headquarters.

CHAPTER V.

*The First Day—The Regular Order
of March*

(July 1st, 1863.)

The First Corps from Marsh Creek, and the Eleventh Corps from Emmitsburg to Gettysburg; the Second Corps from Uniontown, via Taneytown, to near Gettysburg; the Third Corps from Bridgeport via Emmitsburg, to the field of Gettysburg; the Fifth Corps from Union Mills, via Hanover and McSherrytown, to Boonaughtown; the Sixth Corps from Manchester (on the 2d.) en route to Gettysburg; and the Twelfth Corps from Littlestown, via Two Taverns, to the field of Gettysburg.

Gregg's Cavalry Division marched from Manchester to Hanover Junction, whence McIntosh's and J. I. Gregg's brigades proceeded to Hanover, Huey's brigade returning to Manchester. Kilpatrick's Cavalry Division moved from Hanover, via Abbottstown to Berlin; and Ransom's and Fitzhugh's brigades of artillery reserve, from Taneytown to near Gettysburg.

Stannard's Vermont brigade joined the First Corps on the field of Gettysburg. W. F. Smith's

division of the Department of the Susquehanna, marched from the vicinity of Harrisburg to Carlisle. The brigades of Kenly and Morris of French's Division reached Frederick.

It will be noted that orders of march are usually redacted by the commanding general the day before, and promptly sent out.

The order of march that ran into battle the first day at Gettysburg on the morning of July 1st, 1863, was the regular order of the day with Gettysburg, then but a speck on the map, as the objective—there was no marching to the “sound of guns” for the simple reason that there had been no sound of guns when the march from Marsh Creek began—but battle was in the air.

The “reveille-matin” of Wadsworth's Division of the First Corps was heard in Greenmount, a village on the left bank of Marsh Creek *five miles* from the town square of Gettysburg; the echoes came from Doubleday's Division on the north side of the same creek in Freedom Township; and sharp ears might have heard the bugles of Robinson's Division at Middle Creek. One brigade of the corps and the supply train was located at Emmitsburg.

With the First Corps in position behind Marsh Creek the good people of Emmitsburg, Md., heard the bugles of the Eleventh Corps

camped close by covering the roads from across the mountain. Two divisions of this corps arrived at Gettysburg and were deployed for battle north-east of the town before 2.00 p. m.

The morning fires curled from the chimneys of the Maryland village of Bridgeport, half-way between Emmitsburg and Taneytown, the then headquarters of the army, as the bugles of the Third Corps broke into the air. General Sickles of this corps receives the following message:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

Headquarters Army of the Potomac,
June 30, 1863—12:45 p. m.

Commanding Officer of the Third Corps:

The major-general commanding directs that you move your corps up to Emmitsburg. You will take three days rations in haversacks, 60 rounds of ammunition, and your ambulances. Your trains will remain parked until further orders. General Reynolds' First Corps, and General Howard's Eleventh Corps, are between Emmitsburg and Gettysburg. General Reynolds will command the left wing, consisting of the 1st, 11th, and 3d Corps. The enemy are reported to be in force in Gettysburg. You will move without delay * * * Mechanics-town, on your left, is occupied by a brigade of cavalry, with whom you will communicate. (Merritt's).

Very respectfully, &c.

S. WILLIAMS,

Assistant Adjutant-General.

But for the lost motion in the brain of an untrained soldier entrusted with a superior com-

mand, the red and blue patches of the splendid divisions of Kearny and Hooker—Birney and Humphreys—might have been deployed for battle north-west of the town before 2.00 p. m., of the first day.

CHAPTER VI.

Robert E. Lee

From Herr's Ridge we will ride our story out the Cashtown pike against a marching column of butternut gray, Heth's Division of Hill's Corps, with the fluttering guidons of the batteries of Pegram's battalion interspersed in the column, filling the road with veteran soldiers that had left Cashtown at sun-up that morning.

From Cashtown, we ride across the crest of the first range to the village of Greenwood on the same road, where the commanding general of the Confederate army slept the night before the battles began. At fifteen miles from Herr's Ridge, we see the General move off followed by his retinue. He is presently joined by General Longstreet who, as usual, rides with him, his staff mingling with those of his chief.

There is no name more honored south of Mason and Dixon's Line—and, north of that line, many honest men and women are finding deep down in their hearts, respect and honor for the memory of this American soldier, and his sterling qualities as a citizen; as there are, to-day, many in the south that find in their hearts,

and manifest in their speech, honor and respect for the memory of the immortal Lincoln.

Cavalier from spur to plume; drawn by a natural love for the southland, and the soil that gave him birth; influenced by the pride of State; when confronted by the most serious problem of his life, overwhelmed by tradition, family and friends, he gave his military service to his State.

Captain Lee, a graduate of West Point, was chief-of-staff to the commanding general in our war with Mexico. General Winfield Scott was then well advanced in years—it was the plans of the then young chief-of-staff that won the capital city of Mexico, and the subsequent battle of Chapultepec, for his commanding general.

At the outbreak of the sectional strife in 1861, Captain Lee had attained the grade of Lieutenant-Colonel of the 2nd, Dragoons; to be recommended to the colonelcy of the 1st, Dragoons, the army's corps d'élite," by General Scott the then commander in chief of the national army, preparatory to his next step—the command of the Nation's Army at the retirement of the old general.

He is now Colonel Robert E. Lee, of the 1st. U. S. Cavalry, his commission bearing date March 16th, 1861, having subscribed to the new oath of allegiance required by his new grade.

In the month of April that followed, Fort Sumter is fired upon in Charleston harbor, and the appeal to the arbitrament of the sword becomes a fact. Colonel Lee did not tender his resignation as an officer until after Virginia had passed the ordinance of secession—which was not done until the State had been called upon by the National authority for her quota of the first call of 75,000 men for 90 days to suppress the rebellion.

Colonel Lee tenders his resignation April 20th, 1861, which the then secretary of war at once accepts, restoring him to his status as a private citizen, and releasing him from his officer's oath of allegiance recently taken. That acceptance bears the date of April 25th.

He is now a citizen free to give military service to the nation or state that seeks them.

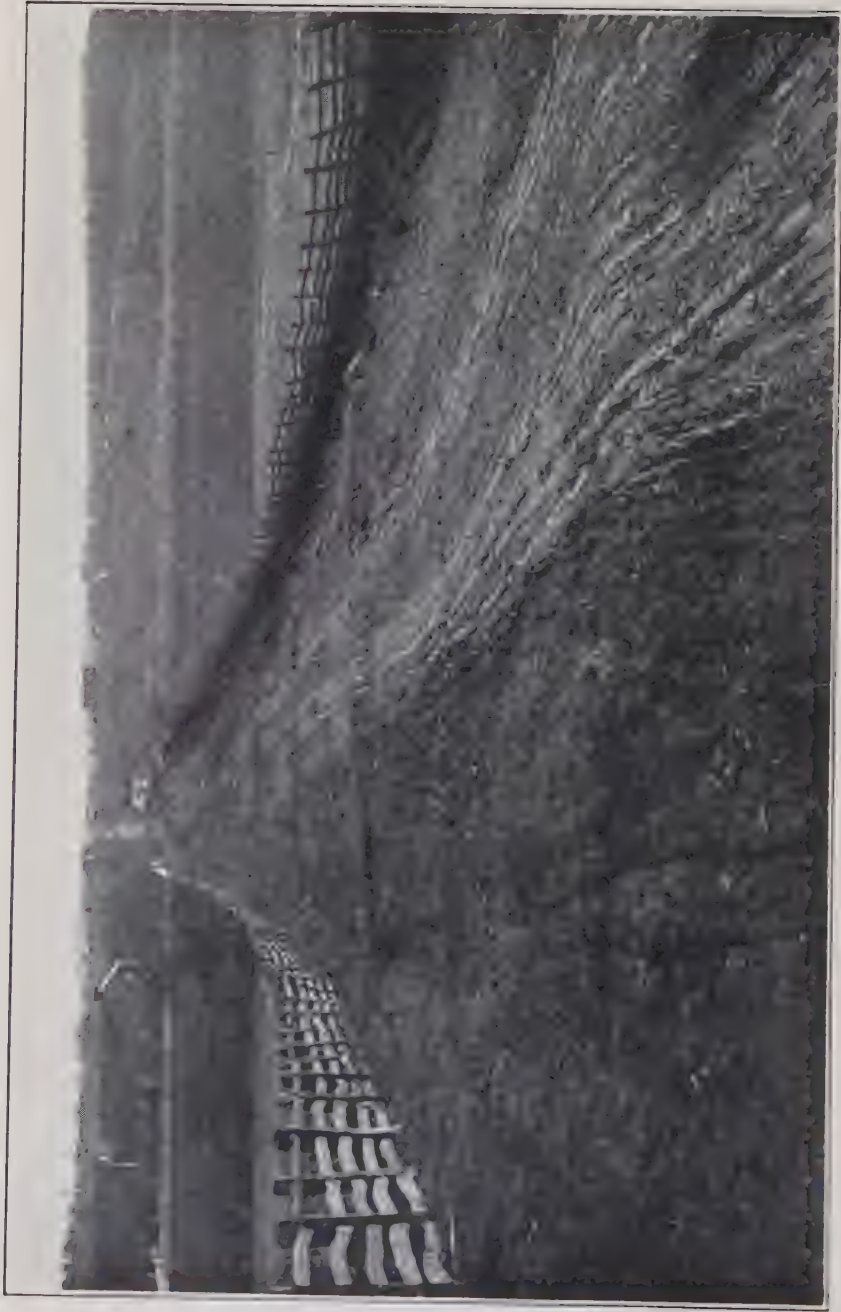
His first service is given to his own state, in West Virginia that has seceded from the mother state, under his own state's commission of Major-General (not the Confederacy, observe).

At the battle of Fair Oaks, June 1st, 1862, a battle fought so close to the capital city of the Confederacy that President Davis rode out, as did many citizens, to see it. Major-General Joseph E. Johnston, commanding general of the



HERR'S RIDGE.

Thirteen hundred yards from Buford's statue. The sky-line saw the deployment of 7,500 muskets, and the emplacement of 17 guns for the opening battle.



MCPHERSON'S RIDGE

From Herr's Ridge General Herh had his first view of the Federal advanced lines and the grove at the right that bastioned the line; the Lutheran Seminary; and the heights south of the town. In effect, he was confronted by two brigades of cavalry (dismounted), or 2,400 carbines and six guns.

confederate army is seriously wounded in the fight.

General Lee, then acting as military adviser to President Davis, is called to the position he afterwards surrendered at Appomattox, and controlled the subsequent military policy of the Confederate government. Under his advice and counsel his government made better use of its trained West Point material than we did at Washington. Of 283 southern graduates available, the following table shows the number that reached general rank:

Generals	8
Lieut.-Generals	15
Major-Generals	48
Brigadier-Generals	111

182 West Point graduates commanded armies, corps, divisions and brigades. The trained junior officers of our armies in the North, had to win their promotion in the field, often subordinates to appointments from civil life. We gave to the confederates the trained officers with which they won the early battles of the war: a well-known general officer is quoted as having said, "Our policy that kept 308 graduates, of whom 151 were captains, in the lower grades of the army should be ranked as one of the greatest

blunders of the war," (General Upton). With four-fifths of the trained war material in our service, but 195 attained general rank.

THE ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA.

Commanded by General Robert E. Lee: This army, re-organized after the battle of Chancellorsville and the death of Stonewall Jackson for the purpose of a campaign in their enemy's country, enters the Cumberland Valley, and screened by the South Mountain Range, is in position to strike at the capital of our State, with its old enemy, the Army of the Potomac, on its flank across the mountain range, in a position of menace to its arsenal line of communication—in a land flowing with milk and honey, its breadline will care for itself. Two of its corps, Longstreet and Hill's, are camped between Chambersburg and Fayetteville, the latter the nearer the mountain range.

Sunday, June 28th, about mid-night, one Harrison, of Longstreet's squad, is picked up by the out-posts having ridden from Frederick, Maryland, since daylight, full of news. General Longstreet has the man sent to General Lee's quarters where the news he brings gives very little rest to the commanding general and his staff for the remainder of the night.

BATTLES AT GETTYSBURG 99

C. S. A.

ORDER OF MARCH JUNE 29TH.

When the order of march for this day was issued, General Lee's intentions were to move with all his force upon Harrisburg. With the capital city of the State, and the great railway arteries centering there in possession of the Army of Northern Virginia, the people of the North would have had a lesson in war long to be remembered.

Before General Lee slept again the night of the 28th, he had cancelled the order for the movement against Harrisburg and issued a new order for a concentration of his somewhat scattered divisions, with rendezvous at Cashtown, a village in the foot-hills of the South Mountain range in Adams County, Pennsylvania, where, with the flanks of his army resting against the mountain, and a gap at its back available in the event of disaster, he could still threaten Harrisburg, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington, or receive the attack of its old antagonist, the Army of the Potomac with its new captain.

Under the new order Heth's Division of Hill's Corps lying nearest the gap, crossed the mountain, arrived at Cashtown in the afternoon send-

ing out pickets, and a flanking force to Fairfield, seven miles due south, Pender's and Anderson's divisions to follow. General Longstreet received an order that same morning to move the divisions of McLaws and Hood to Greenwood, leaving Pickett at his old camp north of the town of Chambersburg.

General Lee moved his headquarters to Greenwood on the 30th, to be near, as was his custom, the command of General Longstreet that moved to that point on that date.

GENERAL EWELL'S CORPS:

Lay with two divisions, Johnson's and Rodes', at Carlisle, the other division, Early's at York, with a hold on the Susquehanna.

Under the old order of march of the 29th, these divisions were to have moved against Harrisburg, Jenkins brigade of mounted infantry already at Kingston, half-way, with the engineer on General Ewell's staff (Captain Richardson) to reconnoitre the defenses.

Under the new order, the entire corps was to march to the rendezvous at Cashtown.

Johnson's division was the first to leave Carlisle, via the valley pike with Ewell's trains, by way of Scotland to Greenwood on the Chambersburg-Gettysburg pike, withdrawing Jenkins

from Kingston. General Ewell remained at Carlisle to ride with Rodes' division that passed through Mount Holly Gap next morning (30th) to York Springs, then to camp at Heidlersburg.

On the evening of the 29th, General Early received a copy of a note from General Lee which required him to move back to rejoin the other divisions. Next morning (30th.), he moved by the Shippensburg road to Weiglestown where he turned into the East Berlin road to Heidlersburg, from which point he could move either to Shippensburg or Greenwood as circumstances might require.

At East Berlin he was met by a courier from Ewell directing his march to Heidlersburg. From his camp that night he rode into the town to see Ewell who told him that "the object was to concentrate the corps at or near Cashtown."

(JULY 1ST.)

.....Next morning, July 1st, Rodes' division, accompanied by General Ewell, broke camp for Cashtown marching via Middletown (Biglersville) by the Arendtsville road. Early's division was to follow on a parallel road via Hunterstown, Schriver's and Mummasburg. Early knew by experience that the Hunterstown road

was rough: He used his discretion as commander of a division with a choice of roads, to move his column to the State road at Heidlersburg, thence to Schrivers and the rendezvous at Cashtown.

Those familiar with the terrain will recall the village of Cashtown, in the foot-hills of the South Mountain range nine miles from Gettysburg on a road that runs like a ribbon off a spool. They may also recall the almost hidden village of Hilltown in the same foot-hills, three miles due north at the mouth of a little valley that leaves the main highway about a mile and a half west of the crest.

In the order of march of the 29th, the Third Corps, a new corps of the recently re-organized army of Northern Virginia, and a new Lieutenant-General commanding, Ambrose P. Hill, of Virginia, is the first to respond, the most convenient to the pass or gaps.

General Heth, recently raised from the grade of brigadier to command of a division, is the first to cross the mountain, direct to Cashtown. Heth is followed on the 30th, by General Pender, a more experienced division-commander who leaves the main high-way by a dirt road through the little valley above referred to, debouching from the mountain at Hilltown. General Hill, the corps commander, rides with Gen-

eral Pender, the two divisions accompanied by the artillery battalions of Pegram, McIntosh, and Garnett. Anderson's division of this corps does not cross until the next day (1st.) accompanied by the remaining battalions of corps artillery.

CHAPTER VII.

The Red Shirt in Battle

Ambrose P. Hill, a Virginian, a graduate of West Point of the class of 1842, commanded, with the rank of lieutenant-general, the new Third Corps in the re-organization, or re-adjustment of commands made necessary by the death of Stonewall Jackson. He was one, if not the best division-commander in Lee's army, and possessed that general's confidence to an extraordinary degree.

In battle, he figuratively wore the red shirt. At Mechanicsville, June 26th, 1862, the first of the seven days of battle in front of Richmond, he commanded the famous Light Division of the confederate army, a division of six brigades. By his precipitancy he brought on a battle that was lost to his cause, converting the city that night into a vast hospital. Five brigades of the Light Division, parts of Longstreet's and D. H. Hill's divisions were involved in this fight, the official casualties given at 2,000 or thereabouts—Longstreet said after the war, they were over 3,000. The Federal force opposed was the Pennsylvania Reserve Division, Generals Reynolds and Meade commanding brigades.

At Gettysburg, General Hill is charged by many historians with having committed General Lee to an offensive battle where the logic of the situation was to await the attack of the new captain's army at Cashtown. There is no escape from this view. In the first match of military chess with the new captain, the old master lost, but it was not the fault of the old master.

CHAPTER VIII.

General Lee's Army—From the Rappahannock to the Susquehanna

After the battles at Chancellorsville, General Lee, commanding the Army of Northern Virginia, commenced to withdraw that army from the vicinity of Fredericksburg, Va., on Wednesday morning, June 3d, 1863. McLaw's Division of Longstreet's Corps moved out that day for Culpeper Court-house where it was joined by Hood's division that had been advanced to the Rapidan, Pickett's Division at Hanover Court-house for the safety of Richmond.

Rodes' Division of Ewell's Corps moved out on Thursday, followed by Early's and Johnson's Divisions of the same Corps on Friday. Saturday evening, General Lee left Fredericksburg leaving A. P. Hill, with his Third corps to meet any attack that might be made, and directed General Ewell, who had been halted, to resume his march to Culpeper where he arrived June 7th. On the 9th, he was moved by the direction of General Lee to the support of Stuart's Cavalry, but on reaching Brandy Station with Rodes' Division, found that the battle had been fought that developed the plans of the General-in-chief.

And, whether by accident or design, placed Ewell's corps on the right, or in advance of the movement, resuming its march on the 10th, after the report to the corps of Jenkin's brigade of mounted infantry, which remained with the advance of General Lee's army until it was called back from Kingston within 12 miles of Harrisburg, June 29th.

An interesting paragraph stands out of the reports at this point like a sore thumb:

"I see by the *New York Herald* that the Twelfth New York Cavalry is on its way to New Berne, N. C., and that the transports Pocahontas and Tilley sail from New Berne for Boston on the 8th instant, with the Forty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment. The *Herald's* correspondent also states, etc."

This paragraph appears in the report of General Lee to his War Office under the date of June 9th. Is there no rule or regulation in the office of loyal newspapers like the *New York Herald* was and is, that would prevent leaks like this from reaching the enemy? It is a known fact that our enemy depended upon the activity of our news gatherers for much of their information—a condition that was, is, and always will be.

June 10th, Ewell's Corps is in motion for the Valley; Hill's Corps is released from the Rappahannock by the withdrawal of the opposing force on the night of the 13th; and Longstreet's Corps

moves from Culpeper Court-house along the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge, covering Ashby's and Snicker's gaps and the flank of valley columns, Stuart's Cavalry on his front screening the movements and crossing the wires in General Hooker's mind, or creating embarrassment as to General Lee's plans.

On the 13th, General Ewell reports that he has driven his enemy out of Berryville into the entrenchments at Winchester. On the 14th, the works are assaulted securing more than 4,000 prisoners and about 30 pieces of artillery with other spoils of war, General Milroy escaping into Harper's Ferry with a small body of his organized troops. (Winchester continues to be a useful depot of war supplies to any confederate army in the Valley.)

June 19th, General Lee's headquarters are reported at "Near Millwood, Va." in the Great Valley, from which he reports that Ewell has crossed the Potomac with two of his divisions toward Pennsylvania, leaving his other division at Shepherdstown (Early's) to guard his right and rear. Rodes' Division of this Corps had crossed the Potomac at Williamsport the evening of the 15th, sending Jenkin's brigade forward to Chambersburg, and on the 19th, moving his division to Hagerstown where he camped on the

Boonesboro road, while Johnson crossed at Boteler's Ford camping for the night on the battlefield of Antietam (Sharpsburg). Thence marched via Hagerstown and Chambersburg to within three miles of Carlisle. At Greencastle, Steuart's brigade of this division is detoured to McConnellsburg to collect horses, cattle, and other supplies.

Rodes' Division of Ewell's Corps remained at Hagerstown for two days, resuming the northward march on the 22d, to a bivouac at Greencastle. There was a conference that night at Ewell's headquarters at which Rodes and Early attended. On the 24th, the march is resumed passing through Chambersburg where it is joined by Johnson's Division, General Ewell riding with the two columns until they arrived at Carlisle on the 27th.

June 20th, General Longstreet received a message from General Lee to hold himself in readiness to move in the direction of the Potomac with the view of crossing. He at once occupied the banks at the ferries on the Shenandoah opposite the gaps in the Blue Ridge.

The next day the Federal cavalry advanced in full force against General Stuart's command and "drove it into and nearly through Ashby's Gap," compelling Longstreet to recross a part of Mc-

Laws' Division in time to hold the gap. General Stuart re-established his cavalry and McLaws withdraws to the west bank of the river (Shenandoah) before night. (One thing about Longstreet—he always told the truth when he was hit).

June 25th, Pickett's Division of Longstreet's Corps, and the corps reserve artillery, crossed the Potomac at Williamsport, the divisions of Hood and McLaws crossing the following day, the command reached Chambersburg on the 27th, where a halt for two days was made for rest. The destination of the army, known at the time by the commanding general and the subordinates in his confidence, was Harrisburg, the capital city of the State of Pennsylvania.

Before leaving Culpeper for this campaign, General Longstreet gave a little chamois bag containing gold pieces to one Harrison, a sheriff of Caroline County, Va., with instructions to go to the City of Washington, gather what information then and there afloat that might be useful, and return to his headquarters in the field—wherever that might be.

It was a curious co-incidence that Harrison was on the same train that brought General Hardie, a member of the staff at the Federal War Office, to Frederick, Md., that evening of June 27th, 1863, with the orders in his pocket

that relieved General Hooker of the command of the Army of the Potomac and appointed General Meade, a corps commander to the post.

By dawn of the next day (June 28th) those orders had become effective, and the day was spent in the necessary details of the great change, to which Hooker loyally lent himself.

That day (28th), Harrison caught the news afloat, procured a horse and rode fifty-six miles until he was picked up near midnight by Longstreet's pickets not far from Chambersburg, Pa., and taken to that general's headquarters loaded to the guards with information. General Longstreet sent the scout with his information to General Lee. The commanding general had retired for the night having sent out to his scattered command the regular order of march for the 29th.

General Lee had retired for the night, and it is safe to say there was no more rest at headquarters the remaining hours of the night. Colonel Latrobe, of his staff was called, an order cancelling the old order of march was given and a new order redacted and started out.

HILL'S CORPS

Lieutenant General Hill of the new Third Corps of General Lee's Army, was held on the line of the Rappahannock River in observation

of the left wing of General Hooker's army, against a possible *retour offensif*. His scouts report fleets of unloaded schooners passing up the river on its tidewater section, and steamers towing empty canal boats passing down, which was promptly relayed to the commanding general—the deduction was that the schooners were not intended for the transportation of troops.

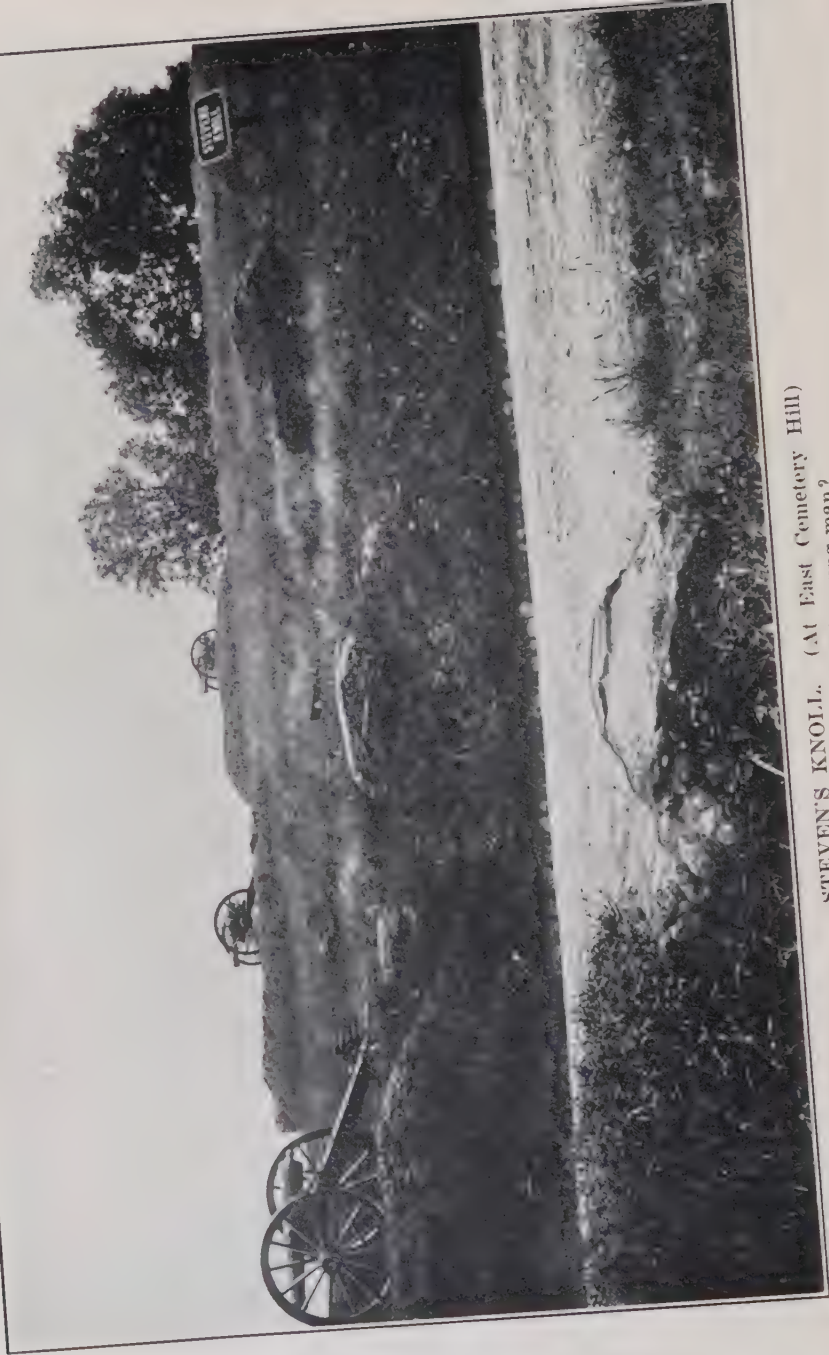
General Hill reported to General Lee that the Federal force in his front were withdrawing on the night of the 13th, and by morning had nearly all disappeared except pickets. On the afternoon of the 14th, Anderson's Division of the corps moved out from its position near Fredericksburg, followed by the other divisions on the march northward.

Without incident the leading division arrived at Front Royal early on the 19th, where the corps was halted by order of General Hill. In the afternoon and during the night the troops and part of the trains crossed the Shenandoah Rivers, the remaining trains crossing in the morning. The corps march was then resumed via Berryville, Charlestown, to Shepherdstown on the Potomac where it arrived on the 23d.

On the 24th, it crossed the Potomac and moved to Boonesboro, thence via Hagerstown, Greencastle, through Chambersburg to Fayette-



The flat ground north of the town (The battle of Rock Creek), and the hill occupied by the Eleventh Corps at noon, as viewed from the right of the First Corps. (The monuments in the picture are the 104th N. Y., and the 12th Mass., of Paul's Brigade.)



STEVEN'S KNOLL. (At East Cemetery Hill)

"Do you see that hill, young man?
Do you see that battery there, and stay," —Hancock.

ville, Pa., where it arrived on the 27th, closing up and encamping in the order named: Heth on the right with a brigade (Laws') at New Guilford on the flank, then Pender and Anderson, the Corps, from its position nearest the mountain range, the first affected by the change in the order of march for the 29th; Longstreet's Corps on the Conococheague, its divisions south and north of the town of Chambersburg.

General Early's Division that had been left on the south banks of the Potomac on the right flank and rear of General Lee's army on its march into Pennsylvania, crossed the Potomac at Shepherds-town on the 22d, moving north along the South Mountain range via Boonesboro to Cavetown where the 17th Virginia of Jenkin's brigade of Mounted Infantry was picked up and retained with the division until Gettysburg. The column passed through Smithsburg, Ridgeville to Waynesboro, where it camped on the 23d, thence through Quincy and Altodale, to Greenwood on the Chambersburg-Gettysburg pike on the 24th.

On the 25th, from his camp at Greenwood, Early visited General Ewell at Chambersburg, and received from his corps commander orders to cross the South Mountain to Gettysburg, thence to York with instruction to cut the Northern Central Railroad, and also destroy the bridges on

the branch road between York and Philadelphia. On the morning of the 26th, White's battalion of cavalry having been ordered to report to the column, Early moves toward the mountain gap, leaving the pike a mile and a half west of the crest of the mountain range, by a road that debouched at Hilltown three miles north of Cashtown the road leading to Mummasburg.

He heard on the road that there was a force at Gettysburg and sent Gordon's brigade to amuse and skirmish with the militia, as it proved to be, while with Hay's brigade he would get to its flank and rear. The advance of Gordon's force (White's Battalion of Cavalry) met a regiment of militia (26th, Pa.) which was dispersed followed by Colonel French with his 17th Virginia Mounted Infantry of Jenkin's brigade. The other brigades, with the artillery, were encamped near Mummasburg.

General Early then rode to Gettysburg and found Gordon just entering the town by the Cashtown road. Hay's brigade was halted and camped about a mile from Gettysburg. A search for supplies accomplished nothing except that 2,000 rations were found in a train that were issued to Gordon's brigade and 10 or 12 cars were burned, with a small railroad bridge crossing the creek.

The next morning, the 27th, the column moved for its most important objective, the town of York, Gordon's brigade directed to proceed by the pike. On the 28th, Gordon arrived without opposition, the other brigades camping at Lauck's Mills two miles north of the town. Early went into town with Hoke's (Avery) brigade and was quartered in some buildings put up for hospitals. General Gordon was met here and directed to proceed to the Susquehanna and secure the Columbia bridge, at both ends if possible—the confederate military authority did not want that bridge destroyed. York, Pa., was thus occupied on the 28th, with Gordon's brigade at the river 12 miles away.

The invading army, screened by the South Mountain range, has passed northward by the Cumberland Valley, with the single diversion through Adams County, of Early's column to York, and to the river.

STUART'S CAVALRY.

Major General J. E. B. Stuart was instructed by General Lee to leave a sufficient force on the Rappahannock to watch the enemy, and move the main body to the Blue Ridge, and on Longstreet's right flank, who was to move near the base of the mountains, through Fauquier and Loudon Counties.

Generals Longstreet and Stuart were both east of the Blue Ridge with the evident object to secure the gap-gates to the Valley of Virginia, and screen the movement of the army of invasion on its march to the North.

General Stuart's battles between the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers are not a part of the story of the Battles of Gettysburg, as interesting as they are to a cavalry soldier whose regiment, the First Pennsylvania Cavalry, was present at Yellow Tavern, Va., that 11th of May, 1864, when General Stuart was killed in battle. We will follow him within the limits of our space from the start of his movement between the Federal army and Washington City, from the rendezvous of his command at Salem Depot, in Virginia, to Cavalry Field at Gettysburg.

".....I submitted to the commanding general the plan of leaving a brigade or so in my front, and passing some gap in the Bull Run Mountains (that paralleled the Blue Ridge on the east at that point) attain the enemy's rear, passing between his main body and Washington City, *and cross into Maryland, joining our army north of the Potomac.*"

This was the original scheme as planned by General Stuart which General Lee amplified to some extent, authorizing the General to move at once if he deemed it practicable, and with the instructions that should be given to the officer left

in command of the two brigades left south of the Potomac (Robertson's and Jones').

He was also notified by the commanding general that one column of the army would move to the Susquehanna by way of Gettysburg, and the other by way of Carlisle, further directing his cavalry chief to proceed with all dispatch *to join the right (Early) of the army in Pennsylvania.*

On the night of the 24th of June, the brigades of Generals Hampton, Fitz Lee, W. H. F. Lee (the latter commanded by Colonel Chambliss secretly rendezvoused near Salem Depot—there were no wheels in the command except for the six pieces of artillery, the caissons, and the ambulances. General Lee's son, the titular commander of one of the brigades was wounded at Brandy Station in the cavalry fight of the 9th.

The command moved out at midnight, passed through Glasscock's Gap in the Bull Run Mountains that parallels the Blue Ridge on the east at this point. Next morning it ran into Hancock's Corps passing through Haymarket, and gracefully yielded the right of way by retiring to Buckland.

On the 26th, the day was spent in the vicinity of Wolf Run Shoals grazing the horses which hard marching without grain was fast breaking down. The march was continued on the 27th,

towards a crossing point on the river—a bit doubtful because of the late heavy rains. Hampton's Brigade in advance skirmished at Fairfax Station with a detachment of Federal Cavalry in which they lost a valuable officer, Major Whitaker, of the First North Carolina Cavalry at the first onset. The column arrived at Dranesville on the Leesburg-Georgetown pike late in the afternoon, passing a camp of the night previous of the Sixth (Sedgwick's) Corps of the Federal army on its way to Edwards Ferry, a pontoon crossing of the Potomac River.

The column, Hampton's brigade still in advance, arrived at Rowser's Ford on the Potomac, to which a citizen who had just forded the stream, reported that the river was fordable although with more water than usual. Hampton crossed early in the night and reported too much water for the artillery, but in spite of all difficulties every piece was safely crossed before midnight, the entire command encamping on the Maryland side until the morning of the 28th.

The march was continued northward on the 28th, sending Hampton's brigade to Rockville on the direct wagon-road from Washington City to Frederick, Md. Here, a long train of wagons approached from Washington City with supplies for the Union Army then gathering at and near

Frederick. Those in charge of the train attempted to turn the wagons and escape. The wagons that were upset and broken were burned, the remainder of the train, 125 wagons of the best U. S. model, with their mules and harness were secured, and from that point proved a great embarrassment to the march of the column, the Federal Army under its new captain, able to keep between it and its objective in the march toward the Susquehanna.

The plain military duty under the orders and the circumstances, demanded that this train be burned. The 29th was spent in full possession of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, burning the bridge at Sykesville, and tearing up the tracks at Hood's Mills, arriving at Westminster, Md., about 5:00 p. m., where camp was made for the night, having learned that the Federal Army was moving northward from Frederick, a few miles beyond the town on the Gettysburg road midway between Westminster and Littlestown.

Early next morning (the 30th), the direct march was resumed by a cross route for Hanover, Pa., Rooney Lee's brigade under Chambliss in advance, Hampton's brigade in rear of the captured train, Fitz Lee's brigade moving on the left flank of the march.

About 10:00 a. m., the head of the column

reached Hanover, Pa., and found, as stated by General Stuart, "a large column of cavalry passing through going toward the gap in the mountain which I intended using," which, if he had been permitted to use, would have taken him to the road occupied that day by Rodes' Division coming from Carlisle through Mt. Holly Gap en route to Cashtown rendezvous, General Ewell riding with this column.

Stuart's leading brigade (Chambliss), charged Farnsworth's brigade of Kilpatrick's Division in the streets of the town. It was a difficult situation and some confusion ensued, which Farnsworth promptly met passing from the front to the rear of his column faced the Fifth New York regiment about in the streets, counter-marching the other regiments, and charged Chambliss' men then engaged with the rear regiment, (18th, Pa.).

Custer's brigade, that had passed through, returned to the town, troops and citizens barricaded the main streets, the artillery of both sides engaged in a duel of an hour outside of the town. General Stuart's conclusions were:

"If my command had been well closed now, this cavalry which we had struck near its rear, would have been at our mercy; but owing to the great length of our column by reason of the captured trains and the hilly roads, Hamp-

ton was a long way behind, and Fitz Lee was not heard from on the left."

On the whole, from a military view point, the affair was creditable to Chambliss, in temporary command of the brigade that made the attack; with special commendation of Farnsworth, his first day in command of his brigade, having been promoted to the grade of brigadier from a staff captain the day before. He was killed the third day at Gettysburg.

As a result of this affair, the Stuart column was shunted off its course ten miles due east to Jefferson, Pa., from which it marched northward the balance of the day and all night that followed, arriving at Dover, Pa., July 1st, a. m. General Stuart admits in his official report that "the captured train was a serious embarrassment," and thought to save it by the *detour* to the east. The writer of these lines, a cavalryman, is frank to admit the hardship of the loss of sleep and rest to man and horse on such a march.

At this moment, the battle is in full force at Willoughby's Run and McPherson's Grove at Gettysburg. We leave General Stuart's tired column to rest a few hours at Dover.

We return to the advanced positions of the divisions of General Lee's army at Cashtown, Pa., where, briefly stated, is found the two divi-

sions of the new Third Corps (Hill's), the other division in the mountains coming across, with the artillery battalions of Pegram, McIntosh and Garnett.

General Longstreet's Divisions (Except Pickett's left to guard the rear at Chambersburg) had arrived, with the corps reserve artillery, at 2:00 p. m., on the 30th, at Greenwood on the Chambersburg-Gettysburg pike in the mountains east of Fayetteville, and sixteen miles from Gettysburg.

This radical change of the order of march upon Harrisburg, was due to the intelligence brought by Longstreet's scout and is so stated in General Lee's official report; and, that in the absence of his cavalry, it was impossible to ascertain the enemy's intentions; and it was to deter him from advancing farther west on his communications with Virginia that determined the concentration of the army east of the mountains.

His cavalry had left Salem Depot in Virginia, at midnight of the 24th, and is now at Dover, Pa., seven days out as they say in nautical circles. In further comment:

".....Upon General Stuart's suggestion that he could damage the enemy and delay his passage of the river by getting in his rear, he was authorized to do so and it was left to his discretion whether to cross into Maryland west or east of the Blue Ridge; but he was instructed to lose no

time in placing his command on the right of my column as soon as he should perceive the enemy moving northward."

The reader has before him all that is pertinent or important to the discussion among Virginians over the absence of the cavalry at Gettysburg.

AT GREENWOOD.

Green Village, or Greenwood, lies on the main Chambersburg-Gettysburg pike (now the Lincoln Highway) in the foot-hills west of the crest of the South Mountain range about fifteen miles from where the first heavy shot was fired at 9:00 a. m., in the battles of the first day at Gettysburg.

Here, General Lee slept the night of June 30th. The next morning, riding with General Longstreet, as was his custom, their staffs mingling, the steady rhythm of the horses' hoofs picked up the stacatto of a dozen or more shots fired by the Fredericksburg, Va., battery from Herr's Ridge twelve miles to the southeast. General Lee's astonishment was expressed by the question:

"General Longstreet, what is the meaning of this?"

In General Lee's mind at that moment, two divisions of his Third Corps (General Hill) with three battalions of the corps artillery, were at Cashtown, the appointed rendezvous, just across

the mountain range not more than four miles away; two divisions of his Second Corps (General Ewell), were marching across country by parallel roads to the same rendezvous; two divisions of his First Corps (General Longstreet), and Anderson's Division of Hill's Corps, were in column on the pike in his rear, and marching to the same general objective. Johnson's Division of Ewell's Corps had left the Shippensburg road with Ewell's trains to claim the right of way later to the one-way pike across the mountain, holding up both Longstreet's and Anderson's columns.

General Longstreet rode back to hasten the march of his divisions, General Lee calling to his side General Pendleton, his chief of artillery, and spreading their steps across the mountain.

CHAPTER IX

*A Fortuitious Concentration
at Gettysburg*

A concentration that has nothing to compare with it in the annals of modern war. It was decided in conference between Generals Lee and Longstreet before leaving the Rappahannock, that the movement into Pennsylvania should be offensive in its strategy, but defensive in tactics—that there should be no offensive battles fought, recalling Napoleon's advice to General Marmont on the eve of a campaign:

“.....so maneuver that your enemy must attack.”

With this conference in the mind of the reader, one may better understand General Longstreet's objections at Gettysburg to a continuation of the offense to which the commanding general had been committed by the precipitancy of a corps commander at Cashtown, with a rendezvous of the army of Northern Virginia which all the military conditions fitted for a defensive battle.

CASHTOWN, PA.

General Lee, followed by his staff, rode into Cashtown from the west side of the mountain at

10:00 a. m., that fateful first day of July, 1863. fully expecting to find Lieutenant-General Hill and the two divisions of his Third Corps with three battalions of the corps artillery. General Longstreet, in an after the war statement says that General Anderson, resting with his division (of the Third Corps), received a message from General Lee that he wished to see him. The hour, as stated, was 10:00 a. m. Anderson reporting that General Lee was intently listening to the cannonading then in progress, very much disturbed and depressed. At length he said more to himself than to General Anderson: "I cannot think what has become of General Stuart; I ought to have heard from him long before now. He may have met with disaster, but I hope not. In the absence of reports from him, I am ignorant of what is in my front. It may be the whole Federal army, or it may be only a detachment. If it is the whole Federal force, we must fight a battle here; if we do not gain a victory, those defiles and gorges through which we passed this morning will shelter us from disaster."

General Anderson's Division had left the vicinity of Fayetteville at daylight that morning. Anderson states in his report, that the division arrived at Cashtown early in the afternoon and had halted for further orders. After waiting an

hour at Cashtown, orders were received from General Hill to move forward to Gettysburg. The apparent discrepancy in the clock-time, is accounted for by the custom of general officers riding in advance of their columns.

General Lee called General Pendleton, his chief of artillery to his side, and rode forward towards Gettysburg. Anderson's Division moving out later in the day camping for the night on the heights just east of Marsh Creek, sending a brigade and a battery to the Black-Horse Tavern on the Fairfield Road. (The right flank.)

General Hill in his official report, referring to the operations of the 30th of June, states:

"General Heth reported from Cashtown that he had sent a brigade (Pettigrew's) to Gettysburg, that had reported the enemy but in what numbers he could not determine.

A courier was then dispatched with this information to the general commanding, asking him to start Anderson's Division across the mountain early next morning; also a dispatch to General Ewell informing him that I intended to advance next morning and find out what was in my front."

That night, (30th) General Ewell at Heidlersburg, received an order from General Lee to proceed to Cashtown or Gettysburg as circumstances might dictate, and a note from General Hill that he was at Cashtown.

Before leaving Cashtown next morning (July 1st) General Hill dispatched a courier to Gen-

eral Ewell with a note which the latter received just before entering Middletown (now Biglerville) in which he was advised that General Hill had advanced upon Gettysburg. General Ewell, the corps commander, riding with Rodes' Division, turned the head of the column to the south in the streets of the town, but seven miles north of Gettysburg.

As that note was the *deus ex machina* that crossed so many wires that first day, and that has spilled so much ink since, we had better halt the story for a page to make the situation more clear to the reader.

Under the old order the divisions of General Rodes and Johnson were at Carlisle, Pa., with Jenkin's brigade of mounted infantry at Kingston, half-way to Harrisburg with an engineer officer to examine and locate the positions for assault or attack.

The division of General Early was at York, Pa., with a brigade at Wrightsville on the river, a regiment of mounted infantry and White's battalion of cavalry a part of the command. This situation was abruptly ended by the events of the night of June 28th, at General Lee's headquarters.

With the new order, the scattered divisions of the army are called to a rendezvous, the attack

upon Harrisburg abandoned, and Cashtown, Pa., named as the marching objective: Rodes' Division is ordered from Carlisle through the Mount Holly gap in the mountain range, Petersburg (now York Springs), Heidlersburg, and Middletown (now Biglersville), to a rendezvous at Cashtown; Johnson's Division of the same corps, with the corps trains, from Carlisle via the Valley pike to Scotland, thence to Greenwood on the Chambersburg-Gettysburg pike in the mountains between Fayetteville and Cashtown; Early's Division from York, Pa., and Wrightsville on the river, to the same rendezvous via East Berlin, Hunterstown, and Mummasburg, where he fully expected to meet the commanding general and the army—in fact on the night of the 30th, he rode three miles to his corps commanders quarters for a conference to be told by his superior officer, General Ewell, that:

“.....the object (of the march) was to concentrate the corps at Cashtown.”

At an early hour on the morning of the first day in July, General Rodes' Division was about to pass through Middletown (now Biglersville) his corps commander riding at the head of the column, when General Ewell received a *note* by courier from General Hill dispatched that morning from Cashtown, with notice that he was ad-

vancing upon Gettysburg. General Ewell states:

".....before reaching Middletown (Biglersville), I received notice from General Hill that he was advancing upon Gettysburg, and turned the head of Rodes' Column toward that place by the Middletown road (south 7 miles) sending word to General Early to advance to same point directly by the State Road.

I notified the general commanding and was informed by him that in case we found a large force of the enemy, he did not want a general engagement brought on till the rest of the army came up."

General Early received the note as his column entered the State Road at Heidlersburg, and advanced direct upon Gettysburg as advised: The first column from Cashtown (9 miles N. W.), is checked by the first arrivals of the defense at the McPherson Grove and the adjoining railroad cuts; the second column appears on the flank of the fight in relief from Middletown (7 miles N.), to meet with a serious check on Oak Ridge; the third column from Heidlersburg (10 miles N. E.), appears squarely on the flank of the Federal concentration, the time intervals carefully adjusted as if the whole movement had been rehearsed. There were seventeen brigades and five battalions of artillery (85 guns) of General Lee's army involved in this "fortuitous concentration."

A concentration that forced the gathering col-

umns of General Meade's army to the positions south of the town from which they could not be dislodged, with General Lee committed to two days more of furious offensive battle—and the failure of his campaign.

THE MILITARY ADVANTAGES AT CASHTOWN.

One cannot help but see the military advantages that were offered to the mind of General Lee by the position at Cashtown—a confirmation of the logic of Napoleon's advice to General Marmont, "so maneuver your army that your enemy must attack."

Harrisburg, with its iron arteries linking the east with the west at his mercy; Philadelphia, Baltimore, then the capital city of the nation and its government paralyzed at the menace; aroused public conditions that would have forced the new captain to the offensive in a struggle for our own "homes and firesides"—all pointing to a veteran army entrenched to the eyes with its back to the mountain range, its flanks covered against assault, with a gap at the rear available for retreat.

It is true that the confederate army could not have maintained itself long in this position, but the makers and distributors of public opinion and fears, would have forced General Meade to the

attack. Lee would not have had to wait long for the attack.

Harrisburg, Pa., June 29, 1863.

"To President Lincoln :

We have undoubted and reliable information from three distinct sources that General Lee now has nearly, if not quite, 100,000 men between Chambersburg and Gettysburg.his columns at present extend from Shippensburg to near Harrisburg, and from Gettysburg to near ColumbiaWithin the 48 hours he will cross the Susquehanna unless *General Meade strikes his columns tomorrow* and compels him to concentrate his force west of the river for general battle.

Let me impress you with the necessity of action by Meade tomorrow, even if attended with great risk, because if he gets his army across the Susquehanna, and puts our armies on the defensive of that line, you will easily comprehend the disastrous results that must follow."

SIMON CAMERON.

Philadelphia, Pa., June 30, 1863.

"To President Lincoln :

.....our people are paralyzed for want of confidence and leadership, and, unless they can be inspired with hope, we shall fail to do anything worthy of our State or Government.....Unless we are in some way rescued from the hopelessness now prevailing, we shall have practically an inefficient conscription and be powerless to help ourselves or the national government."

A. K. McCLURE.

The foregoing communications are examples of the stuff that fell from the pens of the "makers and distributors of public opinion," and that were known to General Lee almost as soon as received by the department at Washington.

The hope of the confederacy in this campaign was to create conditions that would compel a peace favorable to their cause.

THE BELMONT SCHOOL-HOUSE

Counting Seminary Ridge, McPherson's Ridge, and Herr's Ridge, the Belmont School-house is on the highest point of the last named, about 1300 yards from the point in the McPherson Grove where General Reynolds met his death.

At 9:00 a. m., General Heth, at the head of his column, saw from Herr's Ridge the Federal's advanced position, and the grove at the right that bastioned General Buford's lines; the Lutheran Seminary that gave the ridge its name; and the heights south of the town. The entire force in his front numbered two cavalry brigades and a battery of horse artillery, or 3200 carbines and six 3-inch rifles. As his lines fought dismounted, his effective force was reduced to 2400 carbines and Calef's battery.

Heth called up the Fredericksburg, Virginia battery, that unlimbered a section in the pike in front of the school-house, directing Captain Marye to feel out the grove on the right. This fire was answered by two sections of Calef's bat-

tery at the road screened by the crest of the ridge, and a section south of the grove and masked by it.

Archer's Tennessee brigade, supported by Davis' Mississippi brigade, was immediately advanced against the grove on the opposite ridge that extended its timber to the run that coursed the scene from left to right, the alders and the banks of the run offering excellent shelter to Buford's dismounted lines armed in part with the new Spencer that made each squadron the equivalent of a battalion.

CHAPTER X.

McPherson's Ridge and Grove

There was but one John Buford at Gettysburg—more's the pity—this officer knowing that General Reynolds was at Marsh Creek, five miles to the south-west, decided that he would fight the whole gray army, if necessary, until that support arrives, its regular order of march for the day.

At Manassas Junction, in Virginia, at the beginning of this campaign, the first allotment of the Spencer carbine, the first magazine gun of the war, was made to General Buford's Division of cavalry in a limited distribution. At the first encounter it became evident to General Heth that there was something besides cavalry in his front. Seven charges in the magazine and one in the chamber gave birth to the expression from our first prisoners taken in action: "What you all do—load on Sundays and fire all week!"

McPherson's Grove was the play-ground of a country town. It was long and narrow extending from the crest of the ridge to Willoughby's Run, the alders and briers that lined the banks offering protection to the cool veteran armed with the latest development in fire-arms. The grove

was free from the usual entanglement of forest growth. Buford says that when relieved by the infantry, his men had to be literally dragged back. It was known by the blue, and soon noted by the gray, that the grove bastioned the Federal line from the Cashtown road on the right to the Fairfield road on the left, its crest thirteen hundred yards from the crest of the opposite ridge.

There was no minor engagement fought at Gettysburg with more important results than the fight at the "Grove" between Colonel Gamble's splendid line of hardy, disciplined cavalrymen who fought as well with feet on the ground as in the stirrup: 8th, New York, 8th, Illinois, 3d, Indiana (three squadrons), 12th, Illinois (two squadrons)—1600 carbines.

Under the eyes of the master (Buford) Colonel Gamble dismounted his squadrons and sent them forward to the run, his advance vedettes and skirmishers holding back Heth's heavy columns from Marsh Creek heights to the line at the run extending from the old Thad. Stevens tape-worm railroad bed graded without ties or iron to the Fairfield road, the other brigade of the division under Colonel Devin in support on the right from the road-bed to the Mummasburg road at Oak Hill.

After a dozen shots had been fired into the

grove by the Fredericksburg battery, General Heth directed Archer's Tennessee brigade against it realizing that, once in their possession, the Federal line from the Fairfield road to Oak Hill was theirs. But his experience with Buford's vedettes, and with a squadron of skirmishers mounted and dismounted, compelled him to great caution without cavalry when he was strong enough to have marched to the crest of McPherson's Ridge, with loss of course, but could not have been stopped by the small force that opposed him. There was something in the air about him that he did not understand.

At 9:00 a. m., Archer's line is formed covered by a sub-ridge in the lower ground between Herr's Ridge and Willoughby's Run, and a heavy wood on his right, the whole line south of the Cashtown road, with three batteries under the crest of the ridge in their rear, the brigades of Brockenbrough and Pettigrew in column of regiments massed in the depression between Herr's Ridge and the Belmont School-house, with three regiments of Davis' Mississippi brigade on the same line north of the Cashtown road. With these details in the mind of the reader, he will wonder why this powerful column of infantry and artillery could have been held off for an hour and a half by two brigades of cavalry

and a single battery of artillery, or until two infantry brigades with another battery of artillery came to their relief after a march of five miles from their bivouac of June 30th.

AT GREENMOUNT.

Between 7:00 and 8:00 o'clock on the morning of July 1st, General Reynolds, commanding the advanced wing of the Army of the Potomac, was in his saddle at the head of the First Division of the First Corps, at Greenmount, a village on Marsh Creek five miles southwest of Gettysburg.

General Doubleday, a division commander, who has just been called to the temporary command of the corps, is summoned to the road and directed to put the three divisions of the corps in march for Gettysburg—the day's order of march. General Wadsworth, commanding the First Division, in his official reports states:

“.....the division moved at 8:00 a. m., under the immediate direction of Major-General Reynolds.....I understand that the General received information when we arrived within about a mile of the town (Gettysburg) that the enemy was approaching from the direction of Cashtown.”

The road from Cashtown enters Gettysburg from the N. 62° W., crossing Seminary Ridge at the Seminary, a mile from the center of the town. The road from Emmitsburg and Green-

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mount enters from the S. 39° W., a mile from the center of the town to where Wadsworth's Division left the road for a short-cut through the fields to a point on the Cashtown Road northwest of the town crossing Seminary Ridge south of the seminary buildings, McPherson's Grove 600 yards in their front, arriving at the road, as stated by General Wadsworth in his report:

".....and arrived at the Cashtown Road three-quarters of a mile west of Gettysburg at about 10:00 a. m."

General Buford's line had been engaged with General Heth's deployed lines for more than an hour. In his official report General Buford states:

".....The two lines soon became hotly engaged, we having advantage of position, he of numbers. The First Brigade held its own for more than two hours, and had to be literally dragged back a few hundred yards to a position more secured and better sheltered....."

General Archer of the Tennessee brigade was taken prisoner before the day was over, that made it necessary for Lieut.-Colonel S. G. Shephard, of the 7th Tennessee, to report the operations of the brigade. He states:

"At the extreme edge of the field there was a small creek with a fence and undergrowth, which was some disadvantage to our line in crossing, which we crossed with a cheer and met the enemy just beyond....."

WADSWORTH'S DIVISION

Cutler's brigade of Wadsworth's Division led the column across the fields followed by Hall's (2d Maine) Battery, the "Iron Brigade" bringing up the rear.

General Reynolds met Wadsworth and Cutler at the pike pointing out the positions for the infantry, and dropping Hall's six 3-inch rifles into battery, covering the Cashtown Road and the "Tape-worm" railroad bed that paralleled it. His last instruction to Captain Hall was, "Give your attention to the enemy's batteries on the ridge opposite while our troops are being formed." Leaving the further posting of the regiments of Cutler's brigade to the division and brigade commander, the lamented Reynolds turned his attention to the grove, a redoubt in the line he had selected from which an enemy on either side of it could be enfiladed should their lines enter the open ground.

By the time Rowley and Robinson's Divisions of the First Corps were in march for Gettysburg, General Doubleday heard the sounds of battle and rode on in advance of the columns overtaking Wadsworth's Division as it was leaving the main road for the short cut through the fields to the battle ground. He reported his arrival by aide to General Reynolds, the aide returning with an

order directing him to attend to the Fairfield road on the left of the line.

While absent on this duty, General Reynolds rode over and met the "Iron Brigade" as it entered the field. The "Iron Brigade" led by the 2d Wisconsin, and followed by the other regiments, deployed *en echelon* without a moment's hesitation.

Colonel Gamble's line in the grove had been pulled back to the "more sheltered position" referred to by General Buford—a small ravine that traversed the width of the grove. The 2d Wisconsin, the field officers dismounted and taking their places in the line, entered the timber by direction of General Reynolds. Many men and officers fell from the first volley from the enemy line, among them, Lieut.-Colonel Stevens mortally wounded. The regiment continued the advance into the timber under the direction of Colonel Fairchild until that officer's arm was shattered at the elbow. General Reynolds followed the regiment to the edge of the timber, to be killed by a stray shot from Archer's line well within its shade.

The cavalry line was relieved, the other regiments of the brigade successively deploying and entering the fight, the 6th Wisconsin, Colonel

Dawes, held in reserve at the Seminary by order of General Doubleday.

The last regiment to deploy, the 24th Michigan, finding that its front over-lapped the enemy's line, charged across the run to the flank and rear of the Tennessee brigade, which appears in Lieut.-Colonel Shephard's report:

".....we had encountered the enemy but a short time when he made his appearance suddenly upon our right flank in heavy force and opened upon us a cross-fire.

Our position was at once rendered untenable and the right of our line forced back. He also made a demonstration on our left (The 2d Wisconsin) and our lines commenced falling back, but owing to the obstructions in our rear, some 75 of the brigade failed to make their escape.

Overpowered by numbers and our support not being near enough to give us any assistance, we fell back across the field and reformed in rear of the brigade that started in as our support."

In the return of the casualties of the Army of Northern Virginia at the battles at Gettysburg, there appears an added item of 517 captured or missing in the report of Archer's Tennessee brigade. The brigade did not take any part in the battles of the second day.

The 7th Wisconsin, the second regiment in the column, deployed with its right resting at the grove where it halted for an uncertain moment until the 19th Indiana and the 24th Michigan had formed on its left, the 2d Wisconsin engaged in the grove. When the left wing of the brigade

charged across the run, Major Mansfield of the 2d Wisconsin, in command of the regiment, ordered a charge from the right, the enemy breaking from the timber to the open fields in their rear where a large number were captured including their brigadier, General Archer, as recited in Lieut.-Colonel Shephard's report. The cavalry relieved, the contest is between General Heth's gray infantry and artillery on Herr's Ridge and General Wadsworth's blue lines on McPherson's Ridge with Willoughby's Run coursing from east to west between.

Much confusion is caused in the minds of the students of this field and fight by a difference in the clock time of the various events. To establish a datum we give the hour of General Reynolds death in McPherson's Grove as given in General Doubleday's official report:

"This melancholy event occurred in the beginning of the attack referred to, about 10:15 a. m. The whole burden of the battle was thus suddenly thrown upon me."

As the death of General Reynolds began an added responsibility to General Doubleday, it is fair to assume that he is less liable to err in his time given than another might be. With this hour in our minds we may check up the time given for co-incident events.

THE TAPE-WORM RAILROAD:
ITS CUTS AND FILL.

Passing through the town to the northwest, we encounter three cuts in quick succession from Seminary Ridge to Willoughby's Run, all within 1300 yards. These cuts were made for the Thad. Stevens Tape-worm Railroad then in project, with heavy fills on the town-side, and on the Herr's Ridge side. At the time of the battles at Gettysburg, the road had neither ties nor rails.

At the depressions between the ridges, the embankments were nearly level with the road-bed. The cuts were deep with precipitous sides. The road-bed runs nearly parallel with the pike, the first cut about 100 yards therefrom, the second cut about 125 yards, the third cut, the one nearest the point of attack, about 150 yards. These details are necessary for a proper appreciation of the fight that follows.

The Second brigade, First Division, First Army Corps, was the first infantry force to arrive to the relief of Buford's Cavalry on the morning of the first day at Gettysburg. It was the leading brigade of Wadsworth's Division, directed across the fields from the Codori buildings on the Emmitsburg road to the fields in front



AT THE CUT.

Seized and held by two Regiments of Davis' Mississippi Brigade where they were charged by the 95th N. Y., 14th Brooklyn of Cutler's Brigade, and the 6th Wisconsin of the "Iron Brigade." Colonel Dawes of the latter regiment directed his adjutant to throw a Company across the mouth of the Cut with a fire that turned its protection into a trap. At the demand of Colonel Dawes, Major Blair commanding the 2d Mississippi Regiment, surrendered his sword and 225 of his men, the colors having been taken in the mix-up. There were no rails or cross-ties in the cut at the time. The monuments on the crest read 6th Wis., 95th N. Y., and 14th Brooklyn from left to right.



THE WHITWORTH GUNS.

A battery of four (4) of these guns were presented to the Confederacy by the Citizens of London, via the blockade of Mobile, Alabama. A section (2 guns) was allotted to the "Hardaway" Alabama battery (Captain W. F. Hurt) of McIntosh's Battalion. They were the first breech loaders, the then last word in field artillery with a range of nearly four (4) miles. One of the first, if not the first order given, by General Lee, when he arrived at Herr's Ridge was that this battery take a position on their far

of the Seminary. Brig.-Gen. Lysander Cutler commanded its six regiments—five regiments in this fight, as the 7th Indiana, on extra duty, did not rejoin the brigade until evening on Culp's Hill.

CHAPTER XI.

At 10:30 A. M.

General Davis of the Mississippi brigade is already advancing in support of the attack from Herr's Ridge as General Reynolds, himself, is directing the formation of Cutler's battle line on the most westerly of the three ridges above described. The 95th New York and the 14th Brooklyn are placed on the left of the line between the pike and McPherson's Grove, west of the pike and the cut. Hall's battery (2d Maine—six three-inch guns) covers the 150 yards between the pike and the cut. The 76th New York, and the 56 Penna., cross the road-bed between the third and second ridge and almost at once engaged with the skirmishers of the Mississippi brigade; the 147th New York is halted in column along the line of the paling fence of the McPherson House garden.

General Reynolds then rides over to meet the "Iron brigade" coming over the ridge south of the Seminary. He directs the leading regiment (2d Wis.) into the grove against Archer's advance from Herr's Ridge without a moment of lost motion. In placing this regiment, one of the

greatest soldiers and gentlemen of the Army of the Potomac gives up his life. His death also gives us the time of day—10:15 A. M. We have General Reynolds in conference with General Doubleday at Greenmount at Marsh Creek between 7 and 8 o'clock in the morning of the first day. He was killed at 10:15 one mile northwest of Gettysburg—there was no lost motion there.

The regiments on the right are soon engaged: The 56th Penna. firing the first regimental volley fired at Gettysburg. Hall's (2d Maine) battery has taken the position assigned it by General Reynolds, in relief of Calef's (A. 2d U. S.) battery, and opens with shot and shell. In twenty-five minutes he is charged by a column from the Davis brigade taking advantage of the protection offered by the fill that crosses the valley of Willoughby's Run. Hall halted them with canister from his right and center sections while he continued the fire with his left section against the Confederate batteries on Herr's Ridge. The Confederate skirmishers arrived within 60 yards of his right piece at the cut, wounding horses and men.

The Mississippi skirmishers, using the fill in the ravine below, make trouble for Hall's right gun, the one nearest the cut. The 147th New York follows the trail of the two right regiments taking

its place in the line with its left company (C) at the cut opposite Hall's line of guns.

Under cover of a ravine that ran eastward toward Oak Ridge, the 55th North Carolina, of the Davis brigade, appeared on the flank of Cutler's right regiment (76th N. Y.) with an enfilading fire that compelled its right wing to change front to the rear. Major Grover, commanding the regiment, at this moment was mortally wounded. With no reserve to the brigade, it was ordered to retire to Seminary Ridge.

The 147th New York, with its left resting on the cut that separated it from Hall's battery, did not receive the order to retire: An aide from General Wadsworth gave the order to Lieut.-Colonel Miller, commanding the regiment. That gallant officer was seriously wounded before he could communicate its import to Major Harney at that moment with the right wing of the regiment. Major Harney, without other orders held the regiment to its position until the Second Mississippi Regiment, swinging around on his right, compelled the major to change the front of his right wing to the right while the left wing continued its fight with the 42d Mississippi in its front. General Wadsworth saw the predicament of one of his regiments and sent an aide (his son) who rode with his face in his horse's mane,

through shot and shell, to Major Harney's side with the order to retire. The right wing falls back by the ridge at its rear, the left wing, with the colors, regains the pike by the way it came into this field, to be reunited later with the other wing at the cut on Seminary Ridge.

Thus exposed, Hall's battery had to retire, leaving the right piece referred to on the field. The 95th New York, and the 14th Brooklyn, holding the line between the pike and the grove, marched in retreat to the ridge in their rear, then changed front, facing the cut now in possession of the 42d, and the 2d Mississippi, of Davis' brigade. Here they were joined on their right by the Sixth Wisconsin of the "Iron brigade," held in reserve at the Seminary.

These three regiments were thus in the open in line of battle at the pike, the Mississippi regiments covered by the second and third cuts in their front. Colonel Fowler (14th Brooklyn) commanding the line on the pike, gave the order to charge the cuts. Lieut.-Colonel Rufus G. Dawes, commanding the Sixth Wisconsin (the father of the Hon. Charles G. Dawes, Vice-President of the United States) states in his report of this affair that when the line arrived at the edge of the cut (nearest Seminary Ridge),

Adjutant Brooks of his regiment moved a detachment across the mouth of the cut with an enfilading fire. There was no escape. The men in that end of the cut threw down their arms surrendering 225 men with Major John A. Blair commanding.

There were many gallant regimental fights at Gettysburg, but none more worthy of special mention than the fight of the 147th New York—not forgetting the gallant ride of the aide to its relief.

LIEUT.-COLONEL DAWES' REPORT.

The commander of the Sixth Wisconsin in this affair, states in a supplemental report:

"Sir: I have the honor to report that the accompanying battle-flag of the Second Mississippi Volunteers was captured by the regiment under my command.....I moved on the lines of the enemy, joining with the 95th New York, and the 14th Brooklyn on my left.

"A brief fire was opened throughout the line which compelled the enemy to take refuge in a rail-road cut, the men moving forward well closed up and on the run."

At the cut Colonel Dawes directed his adjutant to throw a company across its mouth with an enfilading fire that turned the protection of the cut into a trap:

"At my demand, Major Blair, commanding the regiment, surrendered his sword and regiment. The battle-flag was taken before the surrender by Corporal Waller, of Com-

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pany I, and sent to the rear in charge of Sergeant Evans, of Company H, who was badly wounded."

Sergeant Evans was held for two days a wounded prisoner in one of the Church Hospitals of the town, to find himself a prisoner of war within the lines of his enemy with one of their battle-flags in his possession. With the assistance of some of the ladies of the town attending the wounded, the flag was concealed and turned in after the confederates had retired. A son of Colonel Dawes, who smokes a Helen Maria pipe, presides with honor and efficiency over the present Senate of the United States.

General Davis took but three regiments into this fight having left his 11th Miss. Regiment at Cashtown on division train guard. He spent most of the afternoon gathering the shattered remnants of the two regiments that fought in the cuts. That night the brigade bivouacked with the other brigades of its division on the east slope of Herr's Ridge.

Devin's brigade of Buford's Division retired from this field when relieved by Wadsworth's Division and covered the roads from Carlisle, Harrisburg and York with vedettes and dismounted skirmish lines until the arrival of the Eleventh Corps, when he massed his brigade on the right of the York road.

Gamble's brigade of Buford's Division, when relieved, retired to the town-side slope of the ridge at the seminary buildings until the second period of this day's battle that began at 2:00 p. m., when it again demonstrated what the new Spencer carbine could accomplish in the hands of men accustomed to battle.

THE CAVALRY CASUALTIES

Of the first day's battle do not make a picture for a crimsoned field, but the two brigades, with Calef's battery, held Heth's Division (7,500 muskets), and Pegram's battalion (Five batteries), until the arrival of Reynolds and relief:

Gamble's Brigade: 1 officer killed and 6 wounded; 12 men killed and 64 wounded, 25 missing: Total, 111.

Devin's Brigade: 3 men killed, 4 wounded and 13 missing: Total, 20.

Calef's Battery: 12 men badly wounded; 13 horses killed.

The most of the battery casualties occurred at the Cashtown road, and were largely caused by the musketry fire from the Mississippi brigade from the fill west of the cuts.

It is no more than fair that General Davis of the Mississippi brigade should have a hearing in his official report of the affair in the cuts. It is a bit confusing in its details when compared to

the report of Lieut.-Colonel Dawes just given—it savors of the old Chinese habit of “saving one’s face”:

“About 10:30 o’clock a line of battle was formed, the brigade moving forward about a mile and came within range of the enemy’s line of battle.....

“After a short contest the order was given to charge. The enemy made a stubborn resistance, then gave way and fled in much confusion, but rallied near the railroad (Cuts) where he again made a stand, and after desperate fighting, with heavy loss on both sides, he fled in great disorder towards the town leaving us in possession of his commanding position and batteries.....

“After a short interval he returned in greater numbers and the fight was renewed, our men giving way under the first shock of his attack, many officers having been killed and wounded.....

“In this critical condition I gave the order to retire, which was done in good order leaving some officers and men in the railroad cut, who were captured, although every effort was made to withdraw them. This was about 1:00 p. m.”

The casualties of the Mississippi brigade in this engagement were very heavy: General Davis reports that of nine field officers, but two escaped unhurt, and that a large number of the company officers were killed or wounded.

The arrival of Major-General Howard in advance of the 1st and 3d Divisions of the Eleventh Corps by the Emmitsburg, and Taneytown and Horner’s Mill roads, relieved General Doubleday of further command of the field.

CHAPTER XII.

Time Out

The first period of the battles of the first day at Gettysburg should be called the "The Battle at Willoughby's Run," that ended with the disaster to the Mississippi brigade at the cuts in the roadbed of the railway projection graded but not tied down or ironed that now serves as the Western Maryland Railroad that parallels the Cash-town-Gettysburg pike out of the latter town.

The first part of this period was fought by forces out of all proportion in numbers: At 5:00 a. m., of this eventful day, Heth's Division of Hill's Corps broke camp at Cashtown, four brigades, or 7,500 muskets, accompanied by Pegram's battalion of five batteries (21 guns), fought Buford's Cavalry vedettes from Marsh Creek, four miles from the town square in Gettysburg, back to their supports on Willoughby's Run, one mile north-west of the town, until at 9:00 a. m., the first heavy gun of the fight is fired from Herr's Ridge at the Belmont School-house.

This force was opposed by two brigades of Buford's Cavalry Division, supported by a single

battery of artillery, that covered the Cashtown, M u m m a s b u r g, Middletown, Heidlersburg, Hunterstown and York roads entering Gettysburg. As the cavalry fought dismounted it would be an exaggeration to say that more than 2,500 officers and men were available for combat. Heth's force was held as in a vise by Buford's Cavalry until its infantry support came up (Wadsworth's Division of two brigades) led by the lamented Reynolds at 10:00 a. m., leaving Marsh Creek (Five miles southwest) at 8:00 a. m.

By all rules of the game of war, Heth should have pushed his columns through and past Buford's thin lines on the ridges north of the town, through its streets to the heights beyond—and there would have been no further battles at Gettysburg.

General Reynolds arrival at McPherson's Ridge was, in part, but the "order of the day,"—he did not hear the sound of the guns fired from Herr's Ridge for at least an hour after the column with which he was riding had left Greenmount (Marsh Creek). When he heard the guns, and had sensed the direction of the fight, he directed the column from the road to the fields, rode swiftly through the town to the side of his subordinate and comrade—Buford.

This addition of two small brigades and a single battery of artillery (3,600 officers and men all told) did not equalize the contending forces then engaged—as your pencil will quickly tell you. Heth still held Herr's Ridge with his division and artillery, with Pender's Division in battle formation, accompanied by McIntosh's and Garnett's battalions of artillery, in support not three miles from Herr's Ridge.

Buford's men had to be dragged from their positions in the grove by the relieving infantry. The fight continued, as has already been related, until the brigades of Archer and Davis were *hors de combat* for the remainder of the day. General Reynolds was killed in McPherson's Grove at 10:15 a. m., the command of the field devolving upon Major-General Doubleday, of the First Corps, until the arrival of that officer's senior, Major-General Howard, of the Eleventh Corps.

General Doubleday, a graduate of West Point Military Academy, with the clarity of the trained soldier, voices the thought that since we were compelled to leave this field at the end of the day (after 4:00 p. m.), the end of the fight at the cuts would have been a fitting time to have retired upon our approaching supports south of the town. His view as given in his official report is

such a complete answer to the questions this thought suggests that we give it entire:

“To fall back without orders from the commanding-general might have inflicting disgrace upon the First Corps, and as General Reynolds, who was high in the confidence of General Meade, had formed his lines to resist the entrance of the enemy into Gettysburg, I naturally supposed that it was his intention to defend the place.

“There were abundant reasons for holding it, for it is the junction of seven great roads leading to Hagerstown, Chambersburg, Carlisle, York, Baltimore, Taneytown and Washington, and is also an important railroad terminus. . . . It was, therefore, a strategic point of no ordinary importance. Its possession would have been invaluable to General Lee, shortening and strengthening his line to Williamsport, and serving as a base of maneuvers for future operations.

“I knew that Slocum’s and Sickles’ Corps were in striking distance when we left Marsh Creek; that Howard’s Corps was already passing through the streets of the town, and that the remaining divisions of the First Corps were almost up. A retreat without hard fighting has a tendency to demoralize the troops who retire, and would, in the present instance, in my opinion, have dispirited the whole army while it would have en-

couraged the enemy in the same proportion. . . . Nor could I have retreated without the full knowledge and approbation of General Howard, who was my superior officer, and who had now arrived on the field: Had I done so, it would have uncovered the left flank of his corps. General Howard, from his commanding position on Cemetery Hill, could over-look all the enemy's movements as well as our own, I therefore relied much upon my superior facilities for observation to give me timely warning of any unusual danger."

General Howard, in command of the field, was in a position on Cemetery Hill from which he "could over-look all the movements of the enemy as well as our own" from 11:00 a. m. until the end of the day. And that included General Doubleday's epic struggle in command of a fragment of the First Corps that had come up to the relief of Buford's Cavalry: He saw the attack of Davis' Mississippi brigade of Heth's Division on McPherson's Ridge, and the turning movement that compelled the two flanking regiments on Cutler's right to retire to the cover of Seminary Ridge—and reported to the commanding general that the First Corps was leaving the field, at the very moment, perhaps, that General Doubleday had directed the Sixth Wisconsin,

that he had wisely placed in reserve at the Seminary, to form with Cutler's left regiments (95th N. Y. and 14th Brooklyn) and charge Davis' flank in turn that caused the remaining regiments of that brigade to seek the railroad cuts for safety, from which one of the regiments escaped by the western end, the other surrendering to Colonel Dawes of the Sixth Wisconsin.

ROWLEY'S DIVISION.

Rowley's Division of the First Corps that on the night of the 30th covered the Fairfield roads in Freedom township, west of Marsh Creek, followed Wadsworth's Division to the field. Biddle's brigade with Cooper's (B, 1st Penna.) battery led the division, followed by Stone's brigade and the batteries of Stewart (B, 5th U. S.), Reynolds (L, 1st N. Y.), and Stevens' (5th Maine) crossing Marsh Creek at the bridge nearly a mile above where it receives the waters of Willoughby's Run. Biddle continued his march up Willoughby's Run valley on the west side of the run to the Fairfield or Hagerstown road; Stone crossed the run at the Pitzer school house, followed by the batteries mentioned, took the road from the school house to the Emmitsburg road at the Peach Orchard, thence following Wadsworth's trail to the field.

Biddle arrived at the Fairfield road, 2,000 yards from where that road crosses Seminary Ridge, between 10:00 and 11:00 o'clock A. M. Line of battle was at once formed in the road and, facing north, moved forward 200 or 300 yards towards the Finnefrock buildings, thence by the flank, crossing Willoughby's Run between the road and the Herbst buildings, where they found the cavalry still skirmishing with Archer's men, thence to the east slope of the first ridge west of the Seminary, where they formed a battle line facing west nearly opposite the Seminary grove. The first of the many changes of this brigade, to be noted later on, occurred a few minutes after their first deployment east of the run—the line moved over the ridge to the west slope, the right passing the grove where Reynolds fell. This put the brigade on the left of and continued the line of the "Iron brigade."

Stone's (Bucktail) brigade was reported about noon and was posted between the brigades of Cutler and Meredith of Wadsworth's Division occupying the space between the Cashtown road and McPherson's Grove, Cutler's left wing having joined the right wing of the brigade on Seminary Ridge north of the cut.

A strong skirmish line was sent forward dislodging the Confederate skirmish line concealed



BAXTER AND IVERSON.

Baxter's Brigade (Robinson's division), and Iverson's Brigade (Rodes division).

Baxter's Regiments for flank fire on Iverson's left.



OAK RIDGE

The field of the first deployment of Baxter's Brigade, Robinson's Division of the First Corps, against the first threat
by Ewell's Corps.

by a fence in front, and established a platoon of sharpshooters at the road.

The batteries that followed the brigade remained south of the Seminary buildings on the ridge; the provost guard of the division under Captain Glenn of the 149th Penna., posted at the crossing of the road to Fairfield, where they were able to render a splendid service later in the day.

ROBINSON'S DIVISION.

This division of the First Corps, the last to arrive, broke camp on the morning of the first day on the regular order of the day—except it is in the air that a battle is imminent, but the march is conducted under the regular order until the division arrives within three miles of the town, accompanied by the batteries of Stewart, Reynolds and Stevens of the corps artillery, the batteries of Hall and Cooper having come up with Wadsworth's and Rowley's Divisions of the corps.

The division is at once reported and is placed in reserve to the line as formed, by Major-General Doubleday, now in command of the corps, who directs that the leading brigade (Paul's) erect breastworks in the grove on the west front of the Seminary buildings; the second brigade (Baxter's) closing up in column of regiments on

the east slope of the ridge; Cutler's brigade and 6th Wisconsin of Wadsworth's Division on the ridge to the right of the cuts, the other brigade (Meredith's) withdrawn across Willoughby's Run to its former line in McPherson's Grove, between Stone's (Bucktail) brigade, and Biddle's brigade that held the line to the Fairfield road. This was the situation in this sector at 1:00 p. m.

CHAPTER XIII.

On Herr's Ridge

General Hill directs Heth's Division to the west slope of the ridge; Davis' brigade at the run north of the road between the road and the railroad fill in the valley, to gather up its scattered units after the affair in the cuts; the brigades of Brockenbrough and Pettigrew are massed in the shade of the woods that cover the east slope of the ridge; the remnants of Archer's regiments in the continuation of these same woods south of the Hereter Mill road.

He directs Pender to bring his division forward from the Marsh Creek heights, the brigades covering the distance in line of battle, Thomas' brigade to the depression between the Belmont School-house on their left of the pike, Scales at the ridge on right of the pike opposite the school-house; Perrin just within the wood that shelters Heth's lines; Lane making a march from one flank to the other under the crest of Herr's Ridge, extending the line nearly to the Fairfield road in response to the menace of Buford's Cavalry. Batteries of Pegram's and McIntosh's battalions are emplaced on the ridge, others on the Belmont School-house Ridge 400 yards to the

rear. Thomas' Georgia brigade was held on the ridge in support of the artillery the entire day.

Herr's Ridge was heartened by the evidence of the appearance of Ewell's Corps at Keckler's Hill on the Middletown road. Anderson's Division of Hill's Corps reported at Cashtown, comes forward to the position at the Marsh Creek heights vacated by Pender's Division, where it bivouacs, sending a brigade to the Black Horse Tavern on the flank.

EWELL'S CORPS.

Lieutenant-General Richard S. Ewell, commanding the Second Corps of General Lee's army, was of the old school division commanders of the Confederate forces. Long a subordinate of Stonewall Jackson of the valley section of Virginia, he was familiar with every item in the bag of tricks of the old fox—the use of the bayonet, a long, screened march with a flank attack, and knew just what Stonewall wanted him to know without asking questions.

After the battle of Chancellorsville, and the death of Stonewall Jackson, he was promoted to the grade of Lieutenant-General for command of the Second Corps, and succeeded to some extent, to the place held by his old chief in the mind of General Lee.

He lost a leg August 28, 1862, at the battle near Groveton, Va., in the campaign of Second Manassas, taking no part in the later battles of Antietam, or the first battle of Fredericksburg. He passed through the Pennsylvania campaign that ended at Gettysburg strapped to his saddle while in the field.

He was a dependable soldier and officer and so recognized by Generals Lee and Stonewall Jackson.

We left General Ewell a few lines ahead riding with Rodes' Division of his corps as it was about to enter the village of Middletown (Biglersville) on its way to a rendezvous at Cashtown on the Chambersburg-Gettysburg pike, when he received the note from General Hill that was the monkey wrench thrown into the machinery of General Lee's plans.

We must not forget that it was not the sound of the guns of battle that diverted the Rodes' column to Gettysburg. Nor did the column hear any sounds of battle until it arrived at the foot of the slope that leads to Keckler's Hill, when instant preparations were made for battle.

Perhaps an explanation direct from the official source will dispose of the stupid story that this

column was diverted from its course "to the sound of the guns."

"When within four miles of the town, to my surprise, the presence of the enemy there in force, was announced by the sounds of a sharp cannonade".....(Gen. Rodes' report).

When the head of the column reached the crest of the hill the advanced line of skirmishers were at once engaged by the vedettes of Devin's Cavalry brigade of Buford's Division.

Oak Ridge is crossed at a sharp angle by the Middletown road out of Gettysburg at Keckler's Hill three miles from the town in full view of its spires. The ridge courses south by west from the hill, the town on the east side of the vista with the field of Hill's fight on its west side.

RODES AND ROBINSON.

(Oak Ridge.)

General Rodes, in command of his division, was accompanied and advised by his corps commander, who was with him on Oak Ridge when he received General Lee's message that "he did not want a general engagement brought on till the rest of the army came up." At that moment a battle had already been fought between a division of General Hill's Corps, and Buford's Cavalry and a division of the First Federal Corps, and Carter's battalion of Rhodes' Division on

Oak Ridge "had opened with fine effect on the flank of the same body."

General Ewell thought it was too late to avoid an engagement without abandoning Oak Ridge, and determined upon an attack.

The division was therefore moved along the summit of Oak Ridge with but one brigade deployed at first until more cover admitted three brigades, with two brigades closed up in column of regiments in rear of the line, Carter's battalion of artillery already advanced and engaged with the artillery in front of General Hill's position.

In this formation the division moved forward nearly a mile when the generals discovered that Hill's force was still over a half mile from them, that made it necessary to move the whole of the command by the right flank and change direction to the right. The noon hour had passed and two events occurred over which the opposing generals had no control: Two divisions of the Eleventh Corps (Schurz' and Barlow's) with their complement of artillery had debouched from the town and were closing up for the work in hand; with Baxter's brigade of Robinson's Division strung out along the ridge between the Seminary grounds and Oak Hill.

Rodes determined to attack with his center and

right, leaving Doles' brigade in the flat ground east of the ridge, left there by the flank movement of the line to the right, trusting that nothing would happen until the arrival of Early's Division from Heidlersburg by the State road.

His line as deployed from right to left was, Iverson's, O'Neal's and Doles; Daniel's and Ramseur's brigades massed in the rear. The developments above referred to, of course, compelled Doles' to remain in the open flat ground east of the ridge, and a provision for the gap left between Doles and O'Neal was accomplished by detaching the 5th Alabama from O'Neal's brigade and doubling its front by thinning its line.

The point of attack was the right of the line of the First Corps, held at the moment by Baxter's brigade of Robinson's Division, with its right resting on the Mummasburg road that crossed the ridge at that point its direction N. 18° W. There was the usual sheep fence of stone running along the crest of the ridge of which General Baxter availed himself, his line concealed with hooded colors. Cutler's brigade of Wadsworth's Division continued the line along the ridge to three guns of Stewart's (B, 4th U. S.) battery between its left and the first cut in the ridges.

General Rodas moves forward O'Neal's three regiments from the shelter of the timber of Oak

Hill. Iversons' brigade is ordered to advance on the same line with a field and the Forney buildings between the left of his four regiments and the right of the O'Neal regiments. Colonel Carter, the artillery chief, directs two of his batteries to open upon the federal positions confronting Hill's lines on Herr's Ridge, sending the other two batteries to the opposite slope of Oak Ridge to command the low ground on that side.

We left Robinson's Division of the First Corps at the Seminary buildings in reserve, the Second brigade (Baxter's) closing up in column of regiments on the east slope of the ridge.

The arrival and deployment of Rodes' Division at Keckler's Hill is reported when General Robinson directs the first two regiments closing up to move along the ridge to the right to Oak Hill, at the crossing of the ridge by the Mummasburg road from the town, the remaining four regiments of the brigade following a few minutes later. The two regiments already sent out formed on the right of Cutler's brigade of Wadsworth's Division that had extended its line along the ridge to meet the same threat, leaving the 14th Brooklyn and the 6th Wisconsin at the cut in the first ridge in support of Stewart's (B, 4th U. S.) battery. At the same time, moved by the same threat, Colonel Stone of the Bucktail bri-

gade changed the front of two of his regiments (149th and 143d Pa.) to the right facing Oak Ridge. Biddle's brigade, and Cooper's (B, 1st Pa.) and Reynolds' (L, 1st N. Y.) batteries changed fronts to escape the enfilade fire of Carter's guns on Oak Ridge, the batteries, in turn, making it very lively for two of Carter's batteries.

General Robinson rode out to the right of his line. He found Baxter's brigade placed to cover the right flank, but with too great an interval between it and the line of the First Division (Wadsworth's). He at once directed Baxter to change front forward on his left battalion, and to close this interval towards which the enemy was making his way.

By the time the change was effected, the whole front of the brigade became hotly engaged, but succeeded in repulsing the attack, that retired to the shelter of the timber on Oak Hill. General Robinson finding the position so seriously threatened, sent for and brought up his First brigade, (Paul's), left at the Seminary, and placed part of it in the position first occupied by Baxter's brigade, and the remaining battalions as a support to the line facing north. The federal lines in front of the Seminary are left with but one regiment (the 151st Pa.) in reserve.

General Rodes sent the 5th Alabama regiment that he had detached from O'Neal's brigade to its support in this affair, without avail, and speaks of it in his report:

"It was soon apparent that we were making no impression upon the enemy, hence I ordered forward the 5th Alabama to their support; but to my surprise I found that Colonel O'Neal had remained with his reserve regiment. The result was that the whole brigade (with the exception of the 3d regiment) was quickly repulsed with loss."

General Rodes had been recently promoted to the command of the division leaving his old brigade to the command of Colonel O'Neal, of one of its regiments. He turns in his official report of the battles of Gettysburg from Orange Court House, Va., without date. The reference to Colonel O'Neal in his official report was a grave error for which there is no excuse. The inference it conveys—that could not have been intended by General Rodes—was false and a rank injustice.

Colonel O'Neal turns in his official report of the same battle under date of July 24th, ten days after the army had re-crossed the Potomac. That report touches the same affair:

".....we were ordered forward (that is, the 6th, 12th, and 26th Alabama Regiments), and found the enemy strongly posted and in heavy force, and, after a desperate and bloody fight of about a half an hour, we were compelled to fall back....."

Preparatory to the general attack, the Third Alabama (Colonel Battle), on the right of the Alabama brigade had been directed by General Rodes to form on the left of Daniel's North Carolina brigade, deployed at that moment some two hundred yards in the rear of and partially to the right of Iverson's brigade with order to support, or attack if opportunity offered; the Fifth Alabama (Colonel Hall) halted and held in reserve to fill the gap on the left and protect the flank of Doles' brigade in low ground, to be directed by General Rodes himself

".....so that I only moved forward with the Twelfth, Twenty-sixth and Sixth Regiments. Why my brigade was thus deprived of two of its regiments I have never been informed."

When the order for attack was given, Colonel Battle sent an officer to General Daniel for orders. He was informed that there were no orders, and for him to act upon his own responsibility. Colonel Battle moved his regiment to connect with General Ramseur's brigade then in reserve to the division, and remained with it until the end of the fight on that field.

Speaking of these dispositions, General Rodes naively states in his report, that "they were but temporary and unimportant, and are mentioned

only because they are necessary to a full understanding of Colonel O'Neal's report."

The Fifth Alabama, after resting a half an hour in reserve, received orders that sent the regiment along the foot of the slope on the Rock Creek side of the ridge to the support of the three regiments under O'Neal engaged at the McLean buildings, where it shared in the repulse of the brigade.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Iverson Field

The Iverson brigade of four regiments of North Carolina troops left Carlisle, Pa., for the field of Gettysburg, with 1,470 officers and men. It was chosen by General Rodes as the spear-head of the attack on the gathering line of the right of the First Corps (Robinson's Division) at Oak Hill and the Mummasburg road.

The brigade was deployed for the attack sheltered by the Forney Ridge from the view of the line it was to engage (Baxter's brigade) screened, with hooded colors, by the usual rock fence on a continuation of Oak Ridge. The left of the attack was to be covered by Rodes' old brigade commanded in this fight by Colonel O'Neal. On the right rear Daniel's brigade of the same division is deployed its brigadier directed to support the right or to attack if opportunity offered.

Daniel's line of five regiments lay 200 yards in the rear of the Iverson line in full view of Hill's Corps on Herr's Ridge, and not a thousand yards away from the change of front on the Gettysburg-Cashtown Road of two regiments

of the Bucktail brigade made to meet their threat.

Iverson notified Daniel that he was about to advance. When he reached the crest of the ridge and the open field in his front he discovers that O'Neal was advancing with but three regiments of his brigade, leaving a break or gap that would take at least two regiments to cover. He changed his alignment to meet this situation and advanced against Baxter's line.

This change unmasked a part of Daniel's line as it had been made without notice to him. His three left regiments followed Iverson's line holding his Second battalion, and Forty-fifth N. C., subject to a long range rifle fire from the Gettysburg-Cashtown Road from a line nearly at right angles to the Iverson advance.

With the two regiments of his right wing, General Daniel moved against this fire leaving Iverson and Baxter closely engaged, the latter brigade supported on its left by Cutler's brigade of Wadsworth's Division of the First Corps, that engaged Daniel's regiments left in support of Iverson.

When this affair was over every soldier on the field knew there had been a fight. This line of tar-heels were of the same blood that played horse with General Ferguson and his regulars

at Rocky Mount, North Carolina some sesqui-centennial years ago.

As North Carolina made a tearful protest to their own military authority, it is no more than fair to give General Iverson's story: (General Iverson follows)

".....Learning that the Alabama Brigade (O'Neal's), on my left was moving, I advanced at once, and soon came in contact with the enemy strongly posted and behind a concealed stone wall.....I observed a gap on my left, but presumed it would soon be filled by the advance of the Alabama Brigade.

General Daniel came up to my position and I asked for immediate support. Was promised a large regiment which I told him would be enough. I saw the Third Alabama moving down, and I then supposed it was sent to my support. At the same time I pointed out to General Daniel a large force on my right (Colonel Stone's Bucktails changing front of two of his regiments to the right) who were about to outflank my right, and asked him to take care of them.....the regiment which had been promised me, and which I asked him to forward to the position at which I stood, and where I was being pressed most heavily, did not report to me at all.....

"The Alabama Brigade had, in the meantime, advanced on my left, and been almost instantaneously driven back, upon which the enemy relieved from pressure, charged with overwhelming force upon and captured nearly all that were left unhurt in three regiments of my brigade.

When I saw white handkerchiefs raised, and my line of battle lying down in position, I characterized the surrender as disgraceful; I found afterward that 500 of my men were left lying dead and wounded on a line as straight as at dress parade."

A GOVERNMENT MARKER.

A little granite plug in the sod, alone marks the spot where the dead, dying, and helpless wounded lay as if on dress parade on the line where they fell. It stands in an open field to mark the distance that separated two lines of brave men, measured by an old-fashioned tape-line that one can wind up in his hand.

Iverson's Dead! The wounded were cared for and the dead buried in the soft ground of the Forney fields. That night, in possession of the town, the remnant of this brigade answered to their names at the usual roll-call, and heard the usual call for "lights out!"

A recent visitor to the battlefield of Gettysburg, where the remains of 3,500 Union soldiers lie in the National Cemetery on Baltimore Hill awaiting the "reveillé-matin" of the Last Day, asked the writer of these lines, "Where are the remains of the Confederate dead that were left on this field?"

Did not their home-folks kneel to the same God in their prayers for the safety of their loved ones; were they not tortured by the same anguish of suspense after every battle? And when the tardy news filtered through, did they not pray that they too might die?

Has any one ever seen a monument in any

cemetery of the North or of the South, erected and Blessed of God to the memory of the wives, mothers, sisters and sweethearts who suffered at home?

The visitor was shown the following transcript from the archives of the old battle-field commission:

1870-1873:

137 taken up and returned to,Raleigh, N. C.

101 taken up and returned to,Savannah, Ga.

74 taken up and returned to,Charleston, S. C.

2935 taken up and returned to,Richmond, Va.

73 individual removals.

A few that were overlooked were taken up and reburied along the avenues near where they fell. It will be observed that the bulk of the shipments went to Richmond, the capital city of the Confederacy whence they were, no doubt, redistributed.

A North Carolina mother writes about a son lost at Gettysburg, ".....a brave, noble boy in full bloom of youth".....He was a captain in the 20th N. C., of Iverson's brigade, and fell on that fateful Forney's Field the first day of battle (Oak Ridge). The heart of this mother, a teacher in the public schools of her State, yearned to have the bones of the boy brought

back that they might rest in the soil of the land to which he belonged.

This regiment in the line of its brigade, came up against the position of the 88th Pennsylvania and the 12th Massachusetts of Baxter's brigade; and, at the time of its disaster, but few paces intervened between the two lines. Here, too, brave, gallant boys of these two regiments gave to their flag the "last full measure of devotion," while anxious mothers awaited, feverishly, the news of the battle.

Sixty-four years have passed since that fateful day. It needs but little effort of the imagination to reassemble a little group—Captain Oliver T. Mercer, 20th N. C., Lieutenants Charles G. Russell and Francis Thomas, 12th Mass., each lad with his head on the mother's breast, the arms about her neck. "Though passion may have strained, it must not (cannot) break our bonds of affection," repeats the Spirit of the Immortal Lincoln to the Spirit of Robert E. Lee standing by.

Beautiful monuments mark the spot, with battalion intervals, of the federal regiments engaged on this line, erected by grateful States—with only a little plug of granite to mark the line in front where hundreds of brave American soldiers died, placed there by our War Department. North Carolina owes it to herself, and to the memory

of her brave soldier dead, to replace that marker, not higher than a library table, with an enduring shaft that future generations of Americans may note that she has read but not forgotten the words of General Lee in his official report, made with this and other fields of Gettysburg at his feet:

“.....I cannot speak of these brave men as their merits and exploits deserve. Some of them are appropriately mentioned in the accompanying reports, and the memory of all will be gratefully cherished by the people in whose cause they fell.”

The reader will excuse the interruption in our field story of the battles of the day.

Iverson's brigade uncovered itself on the Forney Ridge to the right of the buildings almost within charging distance of the position he was to engage. The right regiment of his line (12th N. C.) saw a slight rise in the flat-ground in its front that offered some shelter and promptly moved forward to take advantage of it, Cutler's brigade on the other side having opened fire at long range.

The three regiments on the left, the 23d, 20th, and 5th, advanced, *en liaison* with this regiment, with Baxter's brigade concealed in their front. When Baxter's line opened it was with a cross-fire that spelled disaster to the three regiments,

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and confusion to the mind of their brigadiers. The 97th and 83d New York, and the 88th Pennsylvania, charged, capturing many prisoners, the 88th Pennsylvania taking two battle-flags, and the 97th New York, one.

The fire of the 12th Massachusetts (the Webster regiment), and the 90th Pennsylvania, from the right of the federal line was particularly heavy, and had a great influence in the result.

Colonel O'Neal's regiments on Iverson's left did not cover the ground intended, the two regiments detached would have filled the gap between the two brigades and might have spared both the disaster that befell them. Three regiments of each brigade were practically out of the fight for the balance of the day.

General Iverson attempted to rectify his line by drawing it over to the left unmasking the left regiments of the brigade (Daniel's) coming up on his right. General Daniel having no notice of this change rode to the front to reconnoiter, where he noted the change and directed his three left regiments to follow Iverson, holding back his right regiments which had begun to feel the effect of the fire of the two regiments of Stone's brigade that had changed front to the right at the Cashtown road.

General Daniel moved against this fire with his

Second battalion and his Forty-fifth regiment, changing front and halting them in a slight depression that covers them from the view and the fire from the Cashtown road; and shuts off their view of the cuts in the unfinished railway that Colonel Stone of the Bucktail brigade notes, and directs Lieut.-Colonel Dwight of the 149th Penna., to move forward to their shelter without being observed, sending their colors some twenty paces beyond the extreme left of the line.

CHAPTER XV.

East Cemetery Hill

Up to this hour, about 2:00 p. m., the Confederate concentration that has become effective thus far, has met and fought only Buford's Cavalry and Calef's battery; then the brigades of the First Corps that came to the field by the Emmitsburg road. A strange hesitation has held General Hill out of a continuance of his fight after Generals Archer and Davis had failed in the first attack, variously guessed to have been waiting the arrival of his commanding general, or the appearance of General Ewell's Corps that he fully expected: Events have convinced the writer that the latter is the better guess.

At 8:00 a. m., of this day, Major-General Howard, the titular commander of the Eleventh Corps received, at Emmitsburg, Md., an order from General Reynolds then, in the saddle at Marsh Creek (Greenmount, five miles from the field), directing the 11th Corps to move up to within supporting distance of the First Corps at Gettysburg, the then objective of the march of the day.

General Howard arrived in advance of his

corps to find a fight in progress northwest of the town, “. . . and for some little time I endeavored, by sending in different directions, to find General Reynolds, in order to report to him in person.” From the top of a building on the corner of Baltimore and West Middle Streets, he saw firing beyond Seminary Ridge and not far from the seminary. At 11:30 a. m., an aide brought the news of the death of the lamented Reynolds that left him, the senior major-general in command of the field.

General Howard at once establishes his headquarters on East Cemetery Hill, turning the command of the Eleventh Corps over to General Schurz, a division commander, directing that the 1st and 3d divisions of the corps then up, pass through the town and seize Oak Hill, a height where the Seminary and Oak Ridges join, and the right of the First Corps then extending its line to the same point.

The vedettes of Buford's Cavalry report a column approaching by the Middletown road from the north that proves to be Rodes' Division of General Ewell's Corps. At about that same hour, (1:00 p. m.), the Third Corps (Sickles) is reported at or near Emmitsburg, Md., the Twelfth Corps (Slocum) at Two Taverns on the

Baltimore pike five miles from Gettysburg, and both are informed of the situation.

At 2:00 p. m., the state of things then existing was sent by General Howard to General Meade. About the same hour he left his headquarters in charge of his chief-of-staff to pay a visit to the First Corps on the north side of the town. He found General Doubleday about a quarter of a mile beyond the seminary, and found the conditions as already related at the hour named. After inspecting the positions of the First Corps, and examining the topography of that part of the field, he returned to his headquarters south of the town.

At about 2:45 p. m., Howard fixes the time, Early's Division of Ewell's Corps appears in force on the flank of the Eleventh Corps, and the flank of the whole line, and opens fire upon the 1st and 3d divisions of the corps in the flat ground north of town.

"NEVER SADDLE A BATTLE-LINE WITH A TOWN."

Is an old military adage. One may add at this point of our story, pertinent to the muzzle-loading direct-fire days of black powder and Gettysburg: Don't let a town get between your reserves and the headquarters flag, and the firing-line!

The Third Division of the Eleventh Corps,

General Schurz commanding, left Emmitsburg at an early hour under orders for Gettysburg, by way of Horner's Mill, thence by the Taneytown road, passing the mill at 10:30 a. m., General Schurz received a message from General Howard with orders to push his command forward as fast as possible, the division arriving at Gettysburg under stress of the news, General Schurz and his staff riding rapidly forward, reporting to General Howard at East Cemetery Hill "about 11:30 o'clock."

General Howard in command of the field, at once put General Schurz in command of the Eleventh Corps, directing him to pass to the north of the town with the Third Division, and the First Division, (Barlow's) to arrive by the Emmitsburg road, each with a battery, with further direction to leave the Second Division (von Steinwehr) with the corps artillery on Cemetery Hill in reserve.

General Schurz turned over the command of his division to General Schimmelfennig directing him to advance it through the town and gain possession, if possible, of the ridge (Oak Hill) beyond. This order was at once attempted, and the Third Division debouched from the town, where it closed up and deployed two lines west of

the Mummasburg road, in rear of the right of the First Corps, just taking ground.

The First Division (Barlow's) arrived by the Emmitsburg road, passed through the town as directed and was ordered by General Schurz, commanding the corps, to form his First brigade to connect with the Third Division on its right west of the Mummasburg road, the Second brigade to be held *en echelon* to the rear east of the road. The movement of these troops were visible to Generals Ewell and Rodes on Oak Ridge, and held Doles' Georgia brigade of Rodes' Division in the flat ground east of Oak Ridge from coming forward in support of the attack by O'Neal and Iverson's brigades.

By this time it was known and reported by the vigilant Buford, what was well known to General Ewell, that another column of the latter's corps was on the State Road coming to the field from the northeast and would soon appear on Major's Ridge within artillery range of the Rock Creek flats.

Under the circumstances, General Schurz, on the field, chose the only line suitable, or possible for defense: A brooklet crossed the field from west to east passing the Almshouse buildings and the State Road to Rock Creek. The channel had worn through the soft soil to the underlying rock,

usually dry in summer, but impassible for artillery. Low ridges with a corresponding depression appear on both sides of the little water-shed, offering excellent emplacement for artillery on the town-side, cover for infantry on the north, while the almshouse buildings of brick and stone, filled with veteran infantry, would have bastioned the entire line, that could have been held until the two splendid divisions of the Twelfth Corps could have reached the field from Two Taverns, five miles straight away on the Baltimore pike at midday.

Before the deployment of this line could be made effective, General Ewell's attack on Robinson's position (The right of the First Corps) began by advancing the brigades of O'Neal and Iverson supported by Daniel's with Ramseur's in reserve.

General Schurz had selected a point on the field, on the Middletown road that bisected the line, crossing the ridge at Keckler's Hill two miles due north, and was engaged on the right directing Wilkeson's (G, 4th U. S.) battery to position on the Creek side of the State Road opposite the almshouse, with Barlow's Second brigade (Ames') in support.

Firing on the ridge that increased in volume, attracted his attention causing him to "ride over

toward the left to see what was going on." He found the right of the First Corps engaged in a severe struggle to which a strong skirmish line of the 45th New York and 61st Ohio, yards in advance of their lines, gave a much needed support on the federal right, that involved the 6th, Alabama on O'Neal's left.

When he returned to his own field he discovered that General Barlow had moved forward his whole line losing connection on his left with the Third Division, the Second brigade of the First Division having been taken out of its position *en echelon* in the rear of the First brigade to the support of Wilkeson's battery at the almshouse.

General Barlow understood, of course, that the first halt of his division was preliminary to its final disposition, and it was well within the ethics of the situation when advised, in the absence of his corps commander, of the appearance of Early's column north of Major's Ridge, to bring his First brigade (von Gilsa's) over to the small knoll (afterwards known as Barlow's Knoll) just off the creek where it is crossed by the State Road. Four guns of Wilkeson's battery is brought up leaving a section at the almshouse.

Four companies of the 17th Conn., of Ames' brigade, are sent up from this point to skirmish

to the right of the bridge against the threat of Early's column, von Gilsa, already at the knoll, and skirmishing with Doles' brigade now advancing toward the forks of the two roads at the Blocher smithy (Doles had also heard of the appearance of the Early column).

The four guns of Wilkeson's battery were assigned to the position at Barlow's Knoll by General Barlow. A regiment was sent forward from the almshouse position to the knoll to the support of this battery, followed by the entire brigade (Ames') which took part in the furious fortunes of the fight that ensued.

The 1st and 3d Divisions of the Eleventh Corps are about to be involved in red discussion with Early's Division, and Doles' brigade of Rodes' Division, of Ewell's Corps.

EARLY'S DIVISION.

General Early with his division of Ewell's Corps, arrives at Major's Ridge in full view of the town, and the Rock Creek flats, to find General Rodes' Division of the same corps engaged on the ridge to the right across the creek, holding back a veteran line of their old enemy, the First Corps of the Army of the Potomac, (Baxter's brigade of Robinson's Division at Oak Ridge and the Mummasburg Road).

He deploys at once across the State Road with Gordon's Georgia brigade on the right between the road and the creek, Hay's Louisiana brigade astride the road, Hoke's North Carolina brigade (Col. Avery) on the left with Smith's Virginia brigade in its rear, Jones' battalion of artillery on the left of the road with Smith in support, that at once opened upon the federal troops visible on the opposite side of the creek.

Doles' brigade, left on the east side of Oak Ridge, moves forward in skirmish with Barlow's brigades that had moved up to the knoll, Gordon's brigade crossing the creek in its support.

As soon as Doles and Gordon are engaged at the knoll, Hays and Avery are ordered forward followed by the artillery and its support. This leaves Doles and Gordon on the west side of the creek confronting the two divisions of the Eleventh Corps, with Hays and Avery marching down the east side of the creek toward the town and on the flank, and soon to the rear of the Federal lines in the flat ground north of the town.

General Barlow, commanding the division, is wounded; Lieutenant Wilkeson of the battery, is mortally wounded and carried from the field to the almshouse barn by four of his men; the division after a bitter contest, flanked out of position, is compelled to retire toward the town attempting

to reform on the line first selected by the corps commander who, early in the fight, dispatched an aide to East Cemetery Hill asking for a brigade of the Second Division there in reserve that it might be placed *en echelon* to the First Division ready to charge any force that might attempt to turn the right—the very movement that was made—and sending off aide after aide to look for the brigade that did not arrive in time: There was a town, and a mile and a half in distance, between the reserve division and the place where they were needed. The brigade (Coster's) came too late except for a heavy cost to itself, (The old Buschbeck brigade with memories of Chancellorsville).

Lady Luck did not seem well disposed in favor of these men whose hearts were filled with the thought that they might on this field recover the prestige left or lost at Chancellorsville. One of the regiments (153d Penna. of von Gilsa's brigade) reports a loss on this field of 165 officers and men killed and wounded, in a battle fought *after* their term of enlistment had expired.

CHAPTER XVI.

Back to Willoughby's Run

The Hour has struck for a renewal of the battle on the line where it began. It is 2:30 p. m., and General Lee has arrived.....

Battles are only the episodes of a campaign and unless directed from one source, one mind, often result in disaster. We left General Lee at 10:00 a. m., of this fateful day at Cashtown, Pa., much perturbed at the sounds of the heavy guns of battle. These were not fully understood at the time—it might be only a passing encounter, or it might be serious. Brigadier-General Pendleton, his chief of artillery who is riding with him, states, in his own official report that:

“.....After a brief pause, the commanding general finding that the sounds increase, moves rapidly forward..... Arriving near the crest of a ridge more than a mile northwest of the town, we dismounted, leaving our horses under cover, and take position overlooking the field. It was perhaps 2:00 p. m., and the battle was raging with considerable violence.

“.....The troops of the Second Corps (Ewell's) having reached the field some time after the engagement was opened by the Third (Hill's), his artillery at the time of our arrival plied on the left with freshness and vigor upon the batteries and infantry that had been pressing the Third Corps.....”

He further states that when the Federal bat-

teries and infantry by change of front, turned upon these new assailants, they were enfiladed by the batteries of McIntosh and Pegram posted on Herr's Ridge on the left and right of the Cash-town Road in front of "our lookout."

".....Observing the course of events, the commanding general suggested that a position on the right to enfilade the valley between our position and the town, and the batteries of the enemy next the town,.....at a point where the road from the Hereter Mill crosses Herr's Ridge some guns that had been sent from McIntosh's battalion were placed but not used for lack of infantry support."

From this report, we may definitely determine the hour of the arrival of the commanding general to the field, with a reasonable inference that General Hill was not waiting for his arrival, but rather, the arrival of General Ewell and his corps, that had appeared and were engaged on his flank.

It is not until 3:00 p. m., that General Hill, after his fight with Buford's Cavalry and the First Corps, resting on Herr's Ridge and in the shade of the heavy wood of its eastern slopes, with two divisions (Heth's and Pender's of his corps and three battalions of artillery (53 guns); Rodes' Division of Ewell's Corps on Oak Ridge with four batteries (16 guns); Early's Division of the same corps at Major's Ridge with four batteries (16 guns); the final concentration of

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seventeen brigades of infantry and eighty-five guns, resumes and presses the attack with every advantage except that of position—that slips, an hour later, from the grip of the Federals to be taken south of the town from which they could not be dislodged by the whole Confederate force after repeated attacks the second and third days.

General Longstreet's remark to his chief that night:

“We have driven them into their proper position.”

CHAPTER XVII.

The Battle of Willoughby's Run

ENDS AT THE SEMINARY.

The grove on the ridge—the scene of the death of Reynolds—continues to be the *point d' appui* of the Union lines, and the objective of the offense. In the grove are the regiments of the “Iron brigade”; Biddle's brigade on its left in the open; on the right are the three regiments composing the “Bucktail brigade,” between the grove and the pike, and the railroad cuts that again get into the picture.

The Run is a natural line for the defense that uses its borders: Its source is in the north, but at this point makes a slight detour westward touching the edge of the grove thence to the south. The lines are a bit diagonal to the run, the Confederate right some 800 yards from it, their left within 500 yards. This fact starts the fight from their left, the weight of their attack directed at the point where the pike crosses the ridge and, of course, involves the “Bucktail” and the “Iron” brigades, and Biddle's brigade in the open.

From the pike, the terrain is an open view to the south. The sun had already passed the meri-

dian, the glory and beauty of the day. The Federal lines see the manoeuvres for position in their front and "scratch" for the fight they knew was coming.

THE BUCKTAIL BRIGADE.

Major Roy Stone and Captain Langhorne Wister, were splendid officers of the old Bucktails, a Pennsylvania regiment famous in song and story, organized and commanded by Thomas L. Kane, composed of men who loved a gun, knew how to keep it clean, and its use.

After the peninsula campaign in Virginia, these officers were authorized to recruit enough Pennsylvania regiments of the same type to form a brigade. Young men of the desired type flocked to their flag and the 149th and 150th were mustered into the service and sent to the defenses of Washington under the command of Colonels Roy Stone and Langhorne Wister. In their camp of instruction, these regiments were joined by the 143d Penna., Colonel Edmund L. Dana, commanding.

A brigade was formed and Colonel Roy Stone became its titular commander, adopting the insignia of the older organization—a bucktail in their caps. The brigade soon became a corps d'elite, famous in everything that makes fame for

soldiers: drill, quarters, "et savoir faire." It was said they had the best wagons and teams of any brigade in the service, with particular mention of the harness of the teams.

In January of 1863, the old division of Pennsylvania Reserves, reduced in size to but a fraction more than a brigade, was exchanged for an equal number in the defenses of Washington that included the new Bucktails. Their new harness was commandeered when the brigade arrived at the camps of the Army of the Potomac.

The old and the new "Bucktails" were present at the battles here, two brigades of the old division forming a division of the Fifth Corps and fought at Little Round-Top and the Wheatfield.

Stone's brigade of Doubleday's Division, commanded in this battle by General Rowley, arrived at the field before mid-day of July 1st, unslung their packs and filled the space between the pike and McPherson's Grove occupied by four regiments of the Iron brigade.

A skirmish line composed of men of the three regiments is sent down to Willoughby's Run 400 yards in their front. The fire from this line begins to sputter in sharp staccato cracks as Brockenbrough's Virginia brigade debouches from the woods that cover the eastern slope of Herr's Ridge, with a swarm of skirmishers in its

front. On its right appears the line of Pettigrew's powerful brigade of North Carolina troops, its left regiment, the 26th N. C., carrying 800 muskets.

As Stone's regiments take positions, the line of artillery on Herr's Ridge open upon them with two batteries continued without intermission. Colonel Stone orders the 149th, to change front to the right on the pike, covered here by the ridge, the other two regiments to the cover of the stone barn.

Later, the development of Rodes' attack at Oak Hill, and the massing of Daniel's regiments on the right of his position, Stone orders the 143d, to change front to the right forming on the right of the 149th.

General Lee and his artillery chief, Brig.-Gen. Pendleton, occupy a look-out on the ridge opposite with the batteries of McIntosh and Pegram in their front on each side of the pike, whence they are able to direct a fire that drives the troops on the right of the Stone's position back to Seminary Ridge. Rodes' advance exposes the flank of his attack to the rifle-fire of the two Bucktail regiments in the pike, Daniel masses two of his regiments, the 2nd battalion and the 45th North Carolina, to attack them.

Stone at once orders the 149th from the pike

forward to the unfinished railroad bed in their front, about 200 yards at this point, instructing the Lieut.-Colonel to plant his colors at the cut twenty paces at his left. Dwight forms his regiment in single line covered by the high grass at the edge of the cut, and awaits attack. Daniel, in his approach, is covered for a moment from view by a slight depression, and did not see the advance to the cut or the disposition of the colors.

FIRING AT THE COLORS.

The Confederate line comes forward to a fence 20 paces from the cut. Dwight's order is to fire at the knees of the front rank as they approach. At the fence they discover the colors at the cut on Dwight's left and fire. Dwight replies from a source they did not suspect, a volley that breaks them to the rear in confusion. They recover and come back for more to be again repulsed.

Lieut.-Colonel Dwight in command of the regiment, in his official report of the affair at the cuts, states:

".....I had ordered my regiment to reload when the enemy advanced the second time, and made a most desperate effort to carry my position by assault, which was handsomely repulsed by reserving our fire until we could almost reach him by the muzzles of our pieces....."

The "Tar-heels" were always hard to hold—after meeting with them, and nursing our own

wounds, we always knew that we had been in a fight. General Daniel did not retire his line beyond the depression in his rear where it was reformed, his 32d regiment was brought down on his right, the 43d and 53d regiments came down on his left, Captain Brander's battery of Pegram's Battalion was moved to a point across Willoughby's Run from which he could enfilade the cuts. Daniel's first line came back again and Colonel Dwight saved his regiment by pulling it back to the pike, but left his colors at the cut—not a man of the color-guard on his feet.

The brigades of Brockenbrough and Pettigrew of Heth's Division to this hour had not been engaged. They had been brought down after the morning hours from the depression west of the crest of Herr's Ridge to the shade of the timber on the east slope. General Pender's Division of the same corps had been brought up from the Marsh Creek Heights and is now advanced in close support of Heth's Division with flanks resting on the Fairfield road.

Colonel Stone had sent the 143d Penna., forward to the support of the 149th, at the cuts, that was compelled to fall back with that regiment to the pike for several North Carolina reasons. Colonel Stone, of the 149th, commanding the brigade, is wounded and carried from the field, the

command of the brigade devolving upon Colonel Langhorne Wister, of the 150th Penna., who divided his regiment into two wings—the right under Lieut.-Colonel Huidekoper, and the left under Major Chamberlain. The changes in command, and of front under fire, were almost continuous at this time—Huidekoper changed front and charged the cuts with his right wing and brought back the flag of the 149th Penna., is wounded and taken to the barn in the rear, makes a tourniquet for the wounded arm and returns to the field, to be carried off again, the arm amputated that night in town at the church on High Street.

It will be understood that the 150th Penna., filled the whole west front of the position from the pike to the grove, where it divided its attentions with the attacks from the west and northeast. Brockenbrough's Virginia brigade was the first to break cover from the woods on the west side of the run, and looked for the moment as if it was coming to grips with the Bucktail brigade. Their skirmishers were already exchanging fire when the left wing of the Virginia brigade changed direction and followed the right wing into the grove held by the "Iron" Brigade, that is followed by a furious burst of musketry.

Colonel Wister, of the 150th Penna., com-

manding the brigade, is wounded, and Colonel Dana, of the 143d Penna., takes command.

The killed and wounded of the brigade begins to look like a roster of its officers: Lieutenant-Colonels Dwight and Huidekoper, Major Chamberlain and Adjutant Ashurst, following Colonels Stone and Wister, with a total of 84 men and officers killed, 462 men and officers wounded, out of a total of 1315 officers and men, or more than forty-one per cent.

“THE IRON BRIGADE”

The First brigade of the First Division of the First Corps of the Army of the Potomac. It gained its sobriquet, “The Iron brigade,” at the second battle of Bull Run in 1862, by holding its firing line until its dead lay in line as on dress parade—their bodies on the ground, their Spirits in the Presence of the Source of their Courage.

When the brigade returned to the grove after the morning affair of this day that resulted in the relief of Buford’s Cavalry, the death of the lamented Reynolds, and the capture of General Archer of the Tennessee brigade, it was posted with the 7th and 2d Wisconsin regiments, the 24th Michigan and the 19th Indiana, in the order named from right to left connecting with the Bucktail brigade in the open on its right, a hun-

dred yards or more in advance toward Willoughby's Run in the cover of the timber. The 6th Wisconsin was left in support of Stewart's battery at the first cut (Seminary Ridge) after the fight with Davis' Mississippi brigade at the cut in the second ridge.

The Sun, was long past the meridian, still the glory, and beauty, and (heat of the day). The gray lines came out of the timber opposite (Brockenbrough and Pettigrew) their skirmishers picking their way through the briers towards the Run when they halted with the cry:

"they're not cavalry! That's them d——d black-hatted fellows....."

....they had met that other hot summer's day the year before at Second Manassas.

Heavy lines followed the skirmishers, and for a moment it looked as if their left brigade (Brockenbrough) was going in against the Buck-tails, until the left wing of the brigade halted, changed direction and crossed the run in the immediate front of the "black-hatted fellows," the left regiment of Pettigrew's brigade joining the right wing of the Brockenbrough brigade (The 26th N. C.) adding 800 muskets to the attack (The largest regiment in either army) forcing the 24th Mich., and the 19th Indiana, up the hill and farther into the timber.

At this point occurred the heaviest mortality of the day—the Twenty-sixth North Carolina, of its 800 muskets, reports a casualty list of 588 officers and men. During an action that did not last over forty-five minutes, the flag of this regiment fell fourteen times. Captain McCreery of General Pettigrew's staff rides to the firing line with a message for Colonel Burgwin (The Boy Colonel), to find the flag down, its bearer for the moment, Lieutenant Oliver, seriously wounded. The Captain dismounts, picks up the flag and passes it to the Colonel and falls dead in the act. The Colonel receives the flag, waves it in the air, and is in the act of passing it to a young soldier who springs from the nearest formation to receive it, when the Boy Colonel falls with a minie-ball through both lungs. the young soldier who takes the flag from the nerveless grasp of his colonel falls dead. Lieut.-Colonel Lane rushes to the rescue and gathers up the flag when it falls for the fourteenth time, Lane going down with it, a ball passing through his face from jaw to jaw.

It took a long time before our war-wise soldiers learned the lesson of the hooded colors: In Company F of this regiment, the color company, there were three sets of twins—of the six men, five of them were dead on the field at the end of the fight.

This company had eighty-one men and three officers on its rolls—thirty-nine of them were killed, and every man in the company hit with a bullet except one, who was knocked unconscious at the run in crossing by the concussion of an exploding shell. The sergeant who made the written report of the casualties of this company did it after a ball had passed through the flesh of both legs.

THE BLACK HATS.

The young reader may be curious to know the meaning of the "black hats." In the pre-war days, the enlisted men of our army wore a large black hat with stiff wings one of which, on the right side, was pinned up by some insignia against its crown-side. The regulation head-covering at the beginning of our war was a cap.

At the equipment of the Iron brigade, composed of west and middlewest regiments, the army clothing departments were shy of the new head-gear (caps) and issued instead some black hats that were still in stock. That is the legend—you may believe it if you can. It is said (another legend, perhaps) that the Confederate rank and file in this fight were told that they would find nothing but cavalry in their front, (principally cavalry, as may be noted in some of the reports quoted).

The attack was rapidly gaining ground on the left when the right regiment received an order to retire to the ridge in the rear where Colonel Wainwright, the artillery chief of the corps, was gathering the available corps batteries for a final stand.

Flanked out of the grove on its left, the right regiment (7th Wis.), retired by right of companies to the rear, halting and forming, firing and retiring until it reached the foot of the rise to the Seminary buildings.

It was at this stage that a famous break in the game occurred: Colonel Wainwright, just referred to, having heard, incidentally, some directions given to General Doubleday (That should have been received earlier) about holding *Cemetery Hill*, and not knowing there was such a hill, his active mind at once assumed the order was to hold *Seminary Hill* and gathered twelve guns from Cooper's, Stevens' and Reynolds' batteries, posting them on the ridge in the Seminary grounds. This famous "homonym" is a part of every story told of the battles of Gettysburg.

These guns served a great purpose, however, when they were brought back from their advanced positions and posted on Seminary Ridge: They lost heavily as they checked the advancing lines of gray in both men and horses on the ridge

and through the town, leaving but one gun of Reynolds' New York battery, its horses all shot down by the enemy skirmishers within 50 yards of the road by which the artillery was obliged to pass.

BIDDLE'S BRIGADE.

The First brigade of Doubleday's Division of the First Corps, that came direct to the field by following the course of Willoughby's Run as has already been related, took its assigned position under the command of Colonel Chapman Biddle, of the 121st Penna., General Rowley, the brigadier, taking the division when General Doubleday was assigned to the temporary command of the corps.

The brigade, the 20th N. Y. S. M., 121st Penna., 142nd Penna., 151st Penna., held the open ground on the left, and on the line in front of the Seminary grounds, with Cooper's Penna. battery, leaving the 151st Penna., in reserve to the brigade at the ridge (Seminary grounds). This line was held with many changes of front, its first change to the right to escape the enfilade of Rodes' Artillery from Oak Ridge, then back to its original front in the open between the Iron brigade in the grove and the Fairfield road,

bringing up the 151st Penna., from the Seminary grounds to connect, on its right, with the brigade in the grove.

Captain Cooper fixes the hour for the arrival of the brigade at this field as about 12:00 noon, and that he fired about 25 shots at a battery on Herr's Ridge that was firing on Hall's (2d Me.) battery, and Wadsworth's Infantry on the right. This battery also changed front to the north to meet the enfilade fire of Rodes' artillery, and with effect as one of the batteries reports 4 killed and 7 wounded by the return fire. Later, the battery was ordered to the last bit of vantage ground remaining to the Federal lines at the Seminary grounds, until compelled to retire to save his four guns (3-inch rifled) for further splendid service.

The Iron brigade, flanked out of the grove, releases Brockenbrough's Virginia brigade for attack upon the front of the position held by the Bucktail brigade at the angle of the Cashtown road and the ridge south of Willoughby's Run, the 150th Penna., alone facing Herr's Ridge, the 149th and 143d Penna., facing Oak Ridge and the ominous gathering of Rodes' scattered brigades, and Early's Division in the Rock Creek flats, preparing for the final attack. General Paul's brigade of Robinson's Division, is

brought over from the Seminary grounds and placed in position, the right wing, 16th Maine, 104th New York, and 13th Mass., at right angles with Baxter's line; the left wing, 94th New York, and 107th Penna., in second line in support of Baxter's left regiments, the guns of his whole line being hot and foul, the cartridge boxes nearly empty.

PAUL'S BRIGADE.

Brigadier-General Gabriel R. Paul, the titular commander of Paul's brigade of the First Corps, was severely wounded in his fight on the right of the corps and did not make a report of the operations of his brigade. He was succeeded in command of the brigade by Colonel Leonard, of the 13th Mass. until that officer was wounded, to be succeeded by Colonel Root, of the 94th New York, who was wounded in turn. At 5 o'clock p. m., when the brigade arrived at the Cemetery Ridge south of the town, the Eleventh Penna. of Baxter's brigade was transferred to Paul's brigade that its colonel (Dick Coulter, of Westmoreland County) might take the command.

The brigade was resting in the grove at the Seminary when it was sent for by the division commander and directed to march to the relief of Baxter's brigade on the ridge at the right of the

corps line. The brigade filed from its right in the grove, passed over the ridge, crossed the railroad at the eastern mouth of the cut in Seminary Ridge. The ridge at this point runs almost north and south, 1,000 yards from the cut to the Mummasburg road, which crosses it, running N. 18 degrees W., making an acute angle of ridge and road. Seminary Ridge is higher at this part of the line and slopes with a drop of 70 feet in 200 yards in the direction of Penn. College buildings 1000 yards from the crest of the ridge. It is important to keep these, otherwise, dry details in mind since it was through this flat ground a Confederate line forced its way to the rear of Paul's brigade clinging with the grip of death to the ridge. Half-way from the cut to the angle of ridge and road, the ridge, including its eastern slope was heavily wooded, then an orchard on the east slope and then the road. One hundred and fifty yards beyond the road was the big red barn (The McLean Buildings) that it is sure the survivors of the 13th Mass., 104th New York, and the 16th Maine recall. To the left and beyond the barn, six hundred yards north of the "angle" was Oak Hill fifty feet higher than the ground where the road crosses the ridge.

The brigade was sent into action by regi-

ments—the intervals at times so great that they could not properly support each other, finally taking position in continuation of the line of Cutler's brigade of Wadsworth's Division, later, moving farther to the right where their line forms at the angle of the ridge and the road, the left wing facing the crest of the ridge, the right wing facing the road with the McLean buildings 150 yards beyond.

Baxter's brigade, out of ammunition, moves off by the flank along the ridge to the first cut and the fill between the cut and the town in support of the artillery and the position at the Seminary buildings. Closed up under the crest of the ridge, and the thunder of Stewart's guns, it takes a few moments to clean a dirty gun and refill their cartridge boxes while they wait for any new adventure. The half hour that follows is full of fight and trouble for Paul's brigade as it stretched itself to take the Baxter line on the right of the corps.

RAMSEUR'S BRIGADE.

The reserve brigade to Rodes' Division, that had the clean up place in the batting order of the game on Oak Ridge, its four North Carolina regiments strengthened by the 12th N. C., and

the 3d Ala., moves against the point of the angle at the ridge and the road, the line of the offense extended on the right by the 43d and 45th N. C., of Daniel's brigade, the other regiments of that brigade engaged in a finally successful attack on the flank of Stone's Bucktail brigade at the angle on the Cashtown road and the McPherson buildings.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Beginning of the End

With a division of General Ewell's Corps (Early's) on the flank of the whole Federal line, the Eleventh Corps turned out of its field, Gordon's and Doles' brigades driving Barlow's Division from the knoll, now in command of one of the brigadiers, leaving the division commander a wounded prisoner on the field, Gordon following the brigades of von Gilsa and Ames to where General Schurz is making a vain attempt to rally and form on the almshouse line; Doles' released from the attack on Barlow, turns to meet the forward movement of the Schurz Division, under Schimmelfennig, in a hopeless attempt from the west side of their field to retrieve the situation.

Bitter fights follow in a broken field with all the breaks of the game falling to the Georgia brigade: Gordon is halted for some reason at the Almshouse building; Coster's brigade appears from the reserves at East Cemetery Hill, three of his regiments forming across Stratton Street and Steven's Run at the edge of town leaving a regiment at the railway station; Heckman's (K. 1st Ohio) Battery of the reserve artillery drops

its four light twelves into battery out of Carlisle Street from which it served 113 rounds, mostly canister, inside of thirty minutes, with a loss of 2 men killed, 1 officer and 10 men wounded, leaving two of his pieces with the 6th N. C. (Avery's regiment and brigade).

One of Coster's regiment's reports (134th N. Y.) 42 killed and 151 wounded in their short fight—the brigade nor the battery did not come to the field for drill.

The Confederate concentration has become effective, but at a heavy cost: General Hill, with two divisions of his corps, finds, at an early hour in the morning at Willoughby's Run, a mile and a third N. W. of the center square of the town of Gettysburg, the object of his visit—the "force in his front"; at noon he has only succeeded in committing his commanding general to a field offensive from which, like the Arab's camel in the desert, there was no escape.

At 2:00 p. m., the hour of General Lee's arrival at the field, the sound of the guns of Ewell's Corps on Oak Ridge announce the arrival of his first column (Rodes' Division) by the Middletown road, and forming on Hill's left at nearly right angles to his line.

Heth's Division having suffered heavily is re-

lieved by Pender's; and Early's Column on the State Road completes the concentration with clock-like precision when a general advance is made under the eye of the commander-in-chief.

General Schimmelfennig succeeds in getting teams and guns across the channel that the little stream had made in the soft soil of the field, and drops a section of Dilger's Ohio battery where the Mummasburg road enters the town in a vain attempt to check Doles' Georgia brigade now in the rear of the right of the First Corps on the ridge above.

In the woods and fields beyond the ridge above, General Rodes is gathering his brigades and their scattered units about Ramseur's brigade for a vigorous attack on the position held by General Robinson's Division of the First Corps (Baxter's and Paul's) at the angle of the ridge and the Mummasburg road. At this point and in this attack as it gathers momentum, occurs a bit of the human element in war that sometimes lightens up the path of the reader as he limps along in the trail of a retreat.

General Robinson had stubbornly held his position, losing the service of the commander of his First brigade, Brigadier-General Paul, the command falling successively upon the senior

colonels in turn wounded while in command. He saw from his position that his right was being uncovered by the retreat of the Eleventh Corps, and knew that his own withdrawal would be inevitable. The ridge which he had so stubbornly held was partly covered by timber that would aid a retreat should the order come for it—and the order came.

The 16th Maine, Lieut.-Colonel Tilden, was in reserve on the slope of the ridge. General Robinson sent its commander an order:

“Take your regiment to that hill!”

...pointing to the crest where the Mummasburg road crosses, the order clearly a sacrifice. Baxter's brigade led off by the flank toward the first of the cuts north of the Seminary, Stewart's (B. 4th U. S.) battery (Jim Stewart, whose battery always happened to be where it was needed) was in position at the cut and kept the Confederate regiments off the flank of Robinson's column while the 16th Me. was fulfilling its destiny at the angle.

This devoted regiment was forced by sheer force of numbers along the trail of the retiring brigades toward the battery at the cut in the ridge. Finally assaulted by the flank and rear, the regiment was surrounded.

The men would have died had it been of any

use—but they would not, or did not surrender their colors. They were torn from their staffs and into small bits, each man possessing himself of one of the golden stars or a bit of silk which they put in their blouse pockets and surrendered their equipment.

It is sure that in the homes of the survivors of this regiment, little pieces of silk, little golden stars, may be recovered from albums, frames on the walls, or from between the leaves of the family Bible, and a part of the old colors re-assembled. The sequel to this story, which has always interested the writer of these lines, is, he has just found in the official reports of North Carolina regiments, the report of Captain J. A. Hopkins, Forty-fifth North Carolina Infantry:

“.....The regiment was next marched by the left flank, and was moved so as to obtain a position perpendicular to the railroad cut, and made a charge on the wood in our front, capturing prisoners in squads. The flag of the 20th North Carolina Regiment was recaptured by Captain A. H. Gallaway, and returned by him to a member of that regiment.....We also captured a very fine flag staff and tassels; the remnants of what had been a very fine Yankee flag lying about in different places.”

The 20th N. C., was a regiment of Iverson's brigade, the colors lost in the fight with Robinson's Division earlier in the day. The flag staff and tassels were of the 16th Maine.

MAJOR-GENERAL HANCOCK.

General Hancock, with the Second Corps, arrived at Taneytown, Md., at 11:00 a. m., July 1st. At 1:10 p. m., he was directed to turn his command over to General Gibbon and proceed to the front and,

“.....by virtue of this order, in case of the truth of General Reynolds' death, you assume command of the corps there assembled, viz, the Eleventh and First, and the Third at Emmitsburg. You know the General's views, etc.”

Turning over the command of the Second Corps to Brigadier-General Gibbon, a division commander, under the instructions of the commanding general, he is on the road at once to Gettysburg accompanied by his personal aides and the signal squad of the corps. A small party, a direct road, and the exigencies of the occasion, it did not take them long to get Cemetery Hill:

“.....I arrived at Gettysburg and assumed the command. At the time the First and the Eleventh Corps were retiring through the town, closely pursued by the enemy.”

The cavalry of General Buford was occupying a firm position on the plain to the left of Gettysburg to cover the rear of the retreating corps. The position overlooking the town commanded the Emmitsburg and Taneytown roads and the Baltimore turnpike. Efforts were at once directed to reforming the lines in which he was ably

assisted by Generals Howard, Warren and Buford, and other officers of Howard's command.

One of the first units to report to General Hancock is Lieutenant Whittier of the Fifth Main battery, (Captain Stevens having been wounded) who asks for instructions:

"Take your battery, young man (pointing to what is now 'Stevens' Knoll') to that hill and stay there!"

At the same time directing General Wadsworth's Division to the wooded height beyond the knoll (Culp's Hill), the Iron brigade occupying the breastworks in the open yet well preserved, Cutler's brigade extending the works to the crest of the hill where it is joined that night by the 7th Indiana regiment not present with the brigade on McPherson's Ridge.

General Howard, at about 4:00 p. m., sends word to General Doubleday to fall back fighting to Cemetery Hill, directing General Buford to make a show of force opposite the enemy's right (to the left of the town). He sends an aide-de-camp down the Baltimore pike to inform General Slocum, approaching with the Twelfth Corps, of the situation and asking that he would come in person to Cemetery Hill. The aide met General Slocum on the Baltimore pike a mile from Gettysburg, who replied to the request:

".....that he had already ordered a division to the right (Williams') and that he would send another (Geary's) to cover the left, as requested, but that he did not wish to come up in person to the front and take the responsibility of that fight."

At 4:10 p. m., Howard sent a positive order to the commanders of the First and Eleventh Corps to fall back gradually disputing every inch of ground, and form near the Baltimore pike, the First Corps on the left and the Eleventh on the right.

At 4:30 p. m., the columns reach Cemetery Hill, as stated by General Howard, and that:

"General Hancock came to me about this time, and said that General Meade had sent him on hearing the state of affairs; that he had given him his instructions while under the impression that he was my senior."

General Hancock did not discuss the military ethics of the situation with General Howard. He arrived at Gettysburg with the order of the commanding general in his possession and assumed command. After directing General Wadsworth's Division, and Stevens' battery of the First Corps to Culp's Hill, it was agreed that General Howard should attend to the placing of the troops and batteries on the right of the Baltimore pike. Other than the mention of the material assistance he received from General Howard,

he does not refer in his official report to the question of seniority.

The hour of his arrival at the field is logically fixed by a message he sent to the commanding general after his arrival:

5:25 p. m., July 1st, 1863.

"When I arrived here an hour since, I found that our troops had given up the front of Gettysburg and the town. We have now taken up a position in the cemetery that cannot well be taken.....Slocum (Twelfth Corps) is now coming on the field which will protect the right. But we have as yet, no troops on the left, the Third Corps (Sickles) not yet having reported.....Howard says that General Doubleday's command gave way.

General Geary's Division of the Twelfth Corps was at Two Taverns on the Baltimore pike five miles from Gettysburg at 11:00 a. m., where it had halted to await further orders. At 2:00 p. m., under orders, he followed the First Division (Williams') in rapid march to the front. Before reaching Rock Creek the First Division was directed towards Wolf's Hill to the right of Gettysburg. The Second Division (Geary's), under the direct orders of General Slocum, crossed Rock Creek with orders to report to General Howard at Cemetery Hill, leaving his Kane's brigade with a section of Kinsey's (U. S.) battery, on the Wolf's Hill side of the creek.

Arriving at East Cemetery Hill, not finding General Howard to whom he had been instructed

by Slocum to report, he reported his division to General Hancock, who at once sent him to prolong the line of the assembling units of the First Corps south on Cemetery Ridge. At 5:00 p. m., the brigades of Green and Candy of Geary's Division occupied the Cemetery Ridge from the Swisher Woods to the north slope of Little Round Top. General Slocum's headquarters at Power's Hill.

There was no foundation of fact behind the statement of General Howard that "General Doubleday's command gave way." Had the headquarters of General Howard, then in command of the field, been within easy access of the firing line, he would have readily realized the rank injustice of this statement.

The author of these lines permits himself a thrill with the thought of what might have happened had the weight of the splendid divisions of Williams and Geary, and of Birney and Humphreys, been thrown in on the right and left of the fight that day.

As it was, General Birney with his First and Second brigades and three batteries, leaving a brigade and a battery in position at Emmitsburg, marching over roads rendered almost impassable by mud and the passage over it of the First and

Eleventh Corps earlier in the day, reached Gettysburg at 5:30 p. m.

General Humphreys, commanding the Second Division, covering the Waynesboro pike, left Emmitsburg with his First and Second brigades and a battery, leaving a brigade and a battery for cover duty at Emmitsburg, met Lieut.-Colonel Hayden, of the Third Corps staff, with some guides, for the purpose of pointing out the route the division was to follow: This was a road nearly parallel to the main road from Emmitsburg to Gettysburg, about two miles west of it. When the column had covered half the distance to Gettysburg, General Humphreys was warned by his corps commander (Sickles) to look out for his left in coming up to Gettysburg.

At the crossing of Marsh Creek above the mouth of Willoughby's Run, Humphreys was directed by Sickles through a staff officer, to take a position to the left of Gettysburg as soon as he came up, Lieut.-Colonel Hayden, the staff officer that had accompanied the column, stating in positive terms that General Sickles had instructed him to guide the column to the Black Horse Tavern on the Fairfield road three miles west of Gettysburg (evidently without knowing that a brigade of Anderson's Division of Hill's Corps was there with a battery flanking their position).

The column was guided up the creek until General Humphreys found himself in the immediate presence of this force on approaching the Tavern. General Humphreys was not the man to start a fight without the knowledge of the commanding general. He accordingly counter-marched his column to the Pitzer School-house road that led into the main highway arriving at the field at 1:00 a. m., closing up the brigades of Carr and Brewster and Seely's (K. 4th U. S.) battery east of the Emmitsburg road.

Preliminary to his report, (August 31, 1863), of the field while under his command, Major-General Howard sends the following message to the commanding general:

July 1, 1863—5:00 p. m.

"General: General Reynolds attacked the enemy as soon as he arrived, with one division, about 10:45 a. m. . . . I pushed on as fast as I could by a parallel road; placed my corps in position on his right. General Reynolds was killed at 11:15 a. m. . . . I assumed command of the two corps (First and Eleventh), and sent word to Slocum and Sickles (Twelfth and Third Corps) to move up. I have fought the enemy from that time to this. . . . The First Corps fell back when flanked on its left, to a stronger position, when the Eleventh Corps was also ordered back to a stronger position.

"General Hancock arrived at 4:00 p. m., and communicated his instructions. I am still holding on at this time.

"Slocum is near, but will not come up to assume command."

O. O. HOWARD,
Major-General.

A St. Patrick's Day parade was once assembled in the waiting room of a country station awaiting their train:

"What time is it?" asked a man in full regalia.

"Go to 'ell if I know—no two of 'em alike!" responded the other man, looking at the clock-dials on the walls giving the departure of trains.

The reader can make his own application of this story, the writer has lost his religion: The officer on the field, who succeeded General Reynolds in command of the First Corps, and the temporary command of the red field of his death, gives the hour at 10:15 a. m. And that man (General Doubleday) above all others should know the moment when the awful responsibility of the situation fell upon him.

In the main report of General Howard dated August 31, 1863, he states:

"About 7:00 p. m., General Slocum and Sickles arrived at the Cemetery. A formal order was at the same time put in my hands, placing General Hancock in command of the left wing."

About dark, General Hancock left the field with General Slocum in command, and started for the headquarters of the army at Taneytown 13 miles distant, reporting to the commanding general as he was about to start for the front. General Howard resumed the direct command of

the Eleventh Corps. In his summary of the day's battles, he states:

"The eventful day was over. The First and the Eleventh Corps, numbering less than 18,000 men, ably assisted by Buford's Division of cavalry, had engaged and held in check nearly double their numbers from 10 in the morning until 7 in the evening.

"I am conscious of an inability to do justice to the operations of the First Corps, not having received a single report from it. Doubtless the general commanding it gives directly and in full sufficient data to enable the commanding general to appreciate its noble behavior as well as its terrible sacrifices."

Major-General Doubleday, commanding the First Corps, and after the death of the lamented Reynolds the field, until the arrival of Major-General Howard at Cemetery Hill, remained at the Seminary "until hostile bayonets made their appearance about the building." He further states:

"As we passed through the streets, the pale and freightened inhabitants came out of their houses offering food and drink and their expression of sorrow and sympathy."

CHAPTER XIX.

Pender Takes the Field

About 4:00 p. m., General Pender was directed to advance his division leaving Thomas' brigade on Herr's ridge with the artillery. The instructions were to pass General Heth's Division if found at a halt, and charge the enemy lines on the opposite ridge.

The Iron brigade had suffered severely in their conflict with Brockenbrough's brigade and the Pettigrew regiment (26th N. C.), the last named being the largest regiment in point of numbers (800 muskets) of any regiment on the field at Gettysburg, and is withdrawn from the grove as has been previously stated, releasing Pettigrew and Brockenbrough, the former covering Biddle's front, the latter joining in the attack on the Bucktail position by General Daniel after that officer had complained to General Hill that a former request for cooperation had been for some cause refused.

The timber in McPherson's Grove extends to the foot of the slope of that ridge or to the run. The terrain to the north and south is open ground that compelled Colonel Stone to select the McPherson buildings as his line which left his west

front some 150 yards more or less east of the line of the Iron brigade in the grove, that availing itself of the timber, is that far in advance of the Bucktail line, creating a gap between the 7th Wisconsin, the right regiment and the 150th Penna., the other two regiments of the Bucktails, the 149th and 143d facing Oak Ridge and Daniel's attack.

To the south of the grove in the open, the 151st Penna., is brought up from the Seminary grounds where it had been stationed in reserve, and placed on the right of the brigade (Biddle's) the whole line of the brigade now extending from the east end of the grove to the Fairfield road.

Pettigrew's powerful brigade advances to a clinch with Biddle's line re-enforced by its reserve regiment, the last reserve musket left to the First Corps, the "School-teacher's" regiment, that in the bad quarters of an hour of their fight, report seventy-nine per cent. casualties, their commander, Lieut.-Colonel McFarland, losing a leg. A fight that compelled an exhausted gray line to lie down and allow a fresh gray line take up the fight, the regimental flags of the blue lines gathering on their last bit of vantage ground looking like company guidons.

An incident that occurred at this time is related by Captain John A. Thorp, of the 47th N. C.

regiment of Pettigrew's brigade: This brigade overlapped the Biddle brigade on the left near the Fairfield road which forced the flanking Federal regiment to waver, the whole line eventually retiring to Seminary Ridge; a mounted officer rides through to the weather side of his line—between the lines—waving a large Federal flag, his men gathering about him "like bees about their queen." The Captain writes that it was with positive pleasure that his men learned, after the fight, that this officer was not killed.

The vigor of Brockenbrough's attack on the front, with the big Pettigrew regiment on the flank, bruised and bleeding, the Iron brigade is forced back fighting through the grove until met with the order to retire to Seminary Ridge to the welcome crash of the guns gathered there firing over their heads at the relentless lines of gray that follow.

Brockenbrough swings his four regiments to attack the west front of the Bucktail position. General Daniel resumes his attack on the Oak Ridge side of the position. He orders his Second battalion and the Forty-fifth regiment, supported on the left by his Forty-third and Fifty-third regiments, to again charge the position at the road and the cuts, directing his 32d regiment (Colonel Brabble) to move by the flank across

the fill at the west mouth of the cuts, join Brock-enbrough's attack from the west and attain the flank of the position at the barn and the woods in the rear.

Colonel Brabble times this move at about 4:00 p. m., and is supported by the North Carolina regiment of the Davis Mississippi brigade that was not involved in the fight at the cuts earlier in the day. He states:

"Beyond the cut was a large stone barn.....a battery on a wooded hill (Stewart's B. 4th U. S.) which thoroughly covered the ground in our front and about the barn..... After a short time the regiment charged up to the barn, but the battery on the hill opening a terrific fire upon it, it fell back near the cut."

With the advance of Pender's fresh lines, the retreat became imperative. The Thirty-second moved up beyond the barn and passed the night with the brigade at the cut on Seminary Ridge, moving next morning into the Seminary grounds.

PENDER'S FRESH REGIMENTS.

General Pender, mortally wounded in the fight of the following day, left one of his brigades on Herr's Ridge with the artillery, marching the other three, that had not yet fired a shot, through the exhausted lines of General Heth's Division, the fresh lines taking up the fight on McPherson's Ridge with a battle-line extending from the Gettysburg-Cashtown road to and beyond the

Gettysburg-Hagerstown road that crosses the mountain range at Monterey Gap, the brigades of Scales, Perrin and Lane, in the order named, pressing forward followed by the batteries on Herr's Ridge, encouraged by the headquarters flags, and the sense of victory in the air.

The final stand was at a point near the foci of the two roads entering the town at the Seminary that gave its name to the ridge, where a line from road to road would not measure more than 600 yards—where the remnants of Stone's, Meredith's and Biddle's brigades gathered, the battle-formation of the three brigades no longer than one of their regiments at the beginning.

The line of Scales' brigade of five regiments carried on after passing through Heth's lines to the bed of the little stream (Pitzer's Run) that courses the fields at the foot of the slope of the ridge, meeting on its way a rally of the Bucktails where a color-bearer of one of the regiments drove the heel of the staff of his colors into the sod refusing to retire any further. An effigy in granite marks the spot where this brave lad (Crippen) died.

A few minutes later the brigade was halted by three guns of Stewart's battery posted on the Seminary side of the cut in Seminary Ridge—double-canister at 75 yards.

CHAPTER XX.

The Final Stand

(At the Seminary Grounds)

The man who has not been a soldier may have seen a regiment or brigade on dress parade or drill. He will form in his mind the picture of a battle-line falling away from its enemy, preserving its alignment and distance with its officers and fileclosers in their prescribed positions as at dress parade. This would not be a true picture. The line may have been on the field long enough for the men to have become familiar with all its features—they would know, at least, where to find its wood and water, but now, the field covered with a blanket of smoke, every familiar sight is blotted out but the red splash of the fire in their faces flashing through the smoke. There is nothing in their minds but fight, fight—and they hope as they hear the crash of friendly guns on the ridge firing over their heads at their yelling foe—that they are retiring on ample support. Men of different companies are often mingled together, sometimes in groups about the colors, or where the ground may offer some cover. As the smoke thins or lifts they may see the swaying

lines that follow checked by the storm of canister that follows a blast from the friendly guns on the ridge (how the sound of those guns used to hearten the boys falling back to their friendly shelter). They may see that line halt, waver, look to their rear, then gather themselves for another plunge forward, their battle-flags in front with the staffs slanted towards the retiring lines, the more adventurous spirits in front of the flags where they meet the stubborn heroism that lags behind the other line. The men in retreat are without fear or panic—there are no weaklings there. They halt and fire and then reload as they fall back to halt and fire again. With a glance to his right or left he may see a loved comrade—whose blanket he shared the night before—raise his piece to fire, pitch forward dead, dying or helplessly wounded to be left with half the regiment stretched on the bloody field—a sight the men following do not see; they leave their dead and wounded behind them.

PERRIN'S BRIGADE.

Perrin's South Carolina brigade came over the ridge in front of the Seminary position on high-gear to within 200 yards of Biddle's line at the slight protection erected by Paul's brigade, earlier in the day. Here, Perrin found himself in ad-

vance of his support; Scales on his left had been brought to halt at the little stream that runs between the ridges at this point; and Lane's brigade delayed and held off by Gamble's carbines in the Shultz Woods. Colonel Perrin says in his official report, "While crossing the last fence 200 yards from a grove near the college (Seminary), the brigade received the most destructive fire I have ever been exposed to."

THE SHULTZ WOODS.

A strip of small timber running south from the Seminary grounds on the crest of the ridge, covering the usual sheep-fence of stone for 400 yards in the direction of the McMillan Woods, another 400 yards to the south.

This 800 yards covered the front of General Lane's brigade, his right regiment skirmishing with Buford's Cavalry in the McMillan Woods.

The brigade commanded by Colonel Gamble of Buford's Division, opened the heavy business of the day in McPherson's Grove, and closed it in this sector at the end of the day by holding off Lane's brigade of Pender's Division in the Shultz Woods on Seminary Ridge. Colonel Gamble in his report states:

".....and advanced on our left in three strong lines to turn that flank. General Buford ordered my brigade

forward at a trot, and deployed in line on the ridge of woods with the seminary on our right. Half of the Eighth New York, Third Indiana, and Twelfth Illinois were dismounted and placed behind a portion of a stone wall and under the cover of the trees."

General Lane and his brigade ran into the same conditions that met General Archer and his Tennessee brigade in the early part of the day. (Buford's veterans with their feet on the ground.)

Colonel Abner Perrin was one of the four colonels commanding brigades in General Lee's army at Gettysburg: Colonels Avery, Brockenbrough, O'Neal and Perrin commanding brigades in the absence of Generals Hoke (wounded), Heth (promoted), Rodes (promoted), and McGowan (wounded). Colonel Perrin's command was the old Maxey Gregg brigade, its brigadier killed at Fredericksburg, Va., in conflict with Meade's Division of Pennsylvania Reserves.

Colonel Perrin continues his report:

".....We continued to press forward, however, without firing, until we reached the edge of the grove (the Seminary grounds). Here the 14th Regiment was staggered for a moment by the severity of the fire..... I found myself without support on my right or left. Scales' Brigade had halted on my left.....and Lane's Brigade was not in sight on my right. This gave the enemy an enfilading fire upon the 14th....."

General Lane's line was not visible in the smoke of battle because it had been effectually checked by the carbine fire from Gamble's dismounted line in the Shultz Woods.

".....to avoid the breastwork of rails in my front, I directed the 1st Regiment to the right then change his front to the left and attack the flank of the position..... This caused the artillery line on our left to limber to the rear."

He further states that much of this artillery would have been taken by the 1st and 14th regiments but for a force of the "enemy's infantry strongly posted behind a stone wall near and to the left of the college," which he claims were soon dislodged.

The 1st and 14th thus engaged, Colonel Perrin directed his 12th and 13th regiments to charge an enemy line behind a stone fence "*to the right of the college*, the Twelfth gaining the stone fence, with an enfilading fire upon the right flank of the position.

GAMBLE AND LANE.

An occasional cheer from the blue breaks the monotony of the chorus of yells from the gray. Gamble, with the carbines of his dismounted men, halts Lane's brigade and holds the rock-fence in the Shultz Woods until dispossessed by a flank attack from Perrin's right wing; this wing, in

turn, is held for a moment by Breck's guns and Stone's brigade guard (D, 149th Penna.) at the Fairfield road and the ridge. The left half of Stewart's battery on the south side of the cut in Seminary Ridge was pushed forward—forward mind you—under Lieut. Davidson to the pike to within seventy-five (75) yards of the battle-line of Scales' brigade. Here with grape and canister on the flank, and musket-fire and canister in front, Brig.-Gen. Scales and every field officer but one killed or wounded; with only squads to show where regiments had been, this brigade was compelled to halt. The division commander, Gen. Pender, was slightly wounded at this moment rallying his old brigade.

Cutler's brigade with the Sixth Wisconsin and the right half of Stewart's battery north of the cut were holding off Daniel's brigade and the 3rd Ala., while Baxter and Paul sought the only unobstructed way out. Ramseur with his brigade and the 12th N. C. and O'Neal's Alabama brigade poured over the ridge in rear of Paul's brigade as it retired fighting along the eastern slope to the railroad fill.

The bruised and bleeding remnants of the First Corps brigades, were battling fiercely in front of the Seminary buildings, and to the right and left holding, with the grip of death, the last bit of

vantage ground between the town and the long lines of gray that pressed relentlessly forward under the eyes and guided by the directions of their chosen chief—Robert E. Lee. Batteries of artillery galloped forward from Herr's Ridge to break up the rallies of the retreating lines of blue at every roll in the fields that offered shelter. The Seminary buildings and the grounds about them were already filled with the maimed and the dying, the white-armed surgeons at work regardless of the storm of shot and shell and the hell of war about them. A surgeon pauses for a moment to step aside and give a tumbling shell the right of way. The three-inch rifles of Breck and Cooper; and the brass pieces of Stevens and Stewart, lash the opposing lines with double-canister. Still the tide rolls in, its spray and spume dashing against the Seminary buildings. Men from the lines, who have fired their last cartridge, and have expended their last ounce of human endurance, are streaming over the ridge and down its eastern slope to the town and to the shelter of friendly lines they hope to find on the heights beyond. Brave men with anxious hearts and watchful eyes; and grim guns and starry flags, are posted and planted on those heights, with the roads from the south-east, south and south-west filled with Meade's eager marching columns.

THE STREETS OF THE TOWN.

The First Corps under General Abner Doubleday had accomplished the task laid out for it by the lamented Reynolds, and finished by Generals Meade and Hancock at Culp's Hill, Cemetery Hill, Cemetery Ridge, the Round Tops, the Angle, the swaying bayonets marking time to the eager, steady tread of the marching columns of The Old Army of the Potomac, the weapon with which Generals Grant and Meade ended the war at Appomattox.

On the moving scenes at the close of this day, a camera might have caught from the gray mists the white, white figures of Washington and Warren; of Light Horse Harry Lee and LaFayette; of Patrick Henry and Nathan Hale; and legions of brave spirits of the old Southland, gazing all, with saddened eyes, through the red mist rising from this field, at the mad struggle to undo the work to which all had concentrated their lives in the flesh.

At five o'clock, there was not a Federal battle-flag north of the Fairfield road or the Hanover pike.

General Lee from a vantage point on Seminary Ridge, saw through the white smoke that still hovered over the scene, the blue figures trail-

ing through the fields east and west of the town to the heights beyond. The story of the congested streets is a gruesome one to tell, and more gruesome yet to hear. But this was war, and war had burned itself into the minds of strong men. But, there was no wanton devastation or rapine. The days of fruitless legislation and compromise had passed; two sections of the same flag had submitted a grave question to the arbitrament of the sword that, seemingly, could only be settled by the shedding of blood; and to render incapable of action as many of the opposing force as possible, and as soon as possible. That is the logic of war, the real soldier, after his war, thanks his God that he does not know that any bullet he expended ever reached a human target.

The force opposed to the First Corps did not follow it into the streets of the town. General Ewell states in his official report:

"On entering the town, I received a message from the commanding general to attack this hill (Cemetery Hill), if I could do so to advantage. I could not bring my artillery to bear on it, and all the troops with me were jaded by twelve hours' marching and fighting, and I was notified that General Johnson's division (the only one of my corps that had not been engaged) was close to the town."

General Ewell thus availed himself of his discretion as a corps commander and decided that Cemetery Hill was not assailable from the town,

and further determined to await the arrival of Johnson's Division, to take possession of Culp's Hill on a line and commanding Cemetery Hill. Before Johnson got up, Williams' Division of the Twelfth Corps was reported by its skirmishers on his left flank by way of Wolf's Hill.

After dark, Ewell received orders (rather a suggestion) to draw his corps to the right, in case it could not be used to advantage where it was; he represented to the commanding general that the hill was unoccupied, and would command their position so far as he could judge.

General Lee decided to let him remain. General Gordon's brigade, in pursuit of Barlow's brigades, was ordered to halt at the almshouse line by General Early who then directed the brigades of Hays and Avery, that had been halted on the east side of Rock Creek, to advance toward the town on Gordon's left. Early then sent back for his Smith's brigade to come up which that officer failed to comply with on account of a report.

"That the enemy was advancing on the York road."

A courier had been captured with a dispatch on his person dated midnight from General Sykes of the Fifth Corps to General Slocum of

the Twelfth Corps stating that he was then halted four miles from Gettysburg on the Hanover pike and that the march would be resumed at 4:00 a. m.

Smith was given a battery of artillery and sent with his brigade to Granite Hill on the York pike, Gordon for obvious reasons, is directed to follow with his brigade. The brigades of Hays and Avery fight their way toward the streets, the latter brigade drawn to the left by the fight with Coster's regiments, reforming at the railroad where it was subjected to the fire of the reserve battery on East Cemetery Hill. Under cover of the embankment it was moved by the left flank about 400 yards, and again moved forward, but was followed by the battery fire and compelled to halt in the low ground on the Culp farm. Skirmishers were thrown out for the night and the next day.

Hay's brigade of this division, skirmished its way into the town following the streets to High Street where it halted and remained until 2:00 a. m. of the next day when it moved by the flank to the left and took position in the depression along the little stream, in line with Avery's brigade with right resting on Baltimore Street, skirmish line out against East Cemetery Hill.

MAJOR ALLAN G. BRADY.

(17th Conn. Reg.)

When his regiment reached the streets, the four companies under his command deployed and fired several volleys that retarded their advance. He held them until the street was cleared of our own men for the purpose of planting a battery. The battery not being placed in position as intended, the line of the battalion being on the sidewalk, the enemy rushed the street compelling Brady and his men to fall back loading, halting and firing as they retreated. Arriving at the top of the hill the regiment is reformed near the reserve battery facing the town, Major Brady assigned to its command, Lieut.-Colonel Fowler having been killed in the earlier part of the fight in the field.

MAJOR EUGENE BLACKFORD

(5th Alabama)

On the other side of the town, west of Baltimore Street, the retreating Federals were followed into the streets by the brigades of Doles, (Georgia) and Ramseur, (North Carolina) and Major Blackford's battalion of Sharp-shooters of the 5th Alabama regiment of O'Neal's brigade. At the south edge of the town these lines

were halted and retired to West Middle street where Doles', Ramseur's, and Iverson's brigades were formed in permanent line, the left resting on Baltimore Street, leaving the Blackford battalion of sharpshooters for picket duty on that front. These men were not novices at the game: They skirmished with Devin's Cavalry vedettes north of Keckler's Hill, covered the front of Rodes' Division on Oak Ridge, and on the Rock Creek flats, and the marks on the walls and around the dormer windows on the houses facing Cemetery Hill, show where they were posted during their occupancy of the town.

LIEUT. HARNEY AND THE FLAG OF THE 150TH PENNA.

Frank Gutelius, wounded, was carrying the flag of the 150th Penna., on that gruesome march through the streets. At Power's stone-yard on the corner of Washington and High Streets, Frank sat down to rest, his comrades wished to relieve him of the duty but he refused—he had brought it that far and would carry on to the end. Lieutenant Harney with a squad of skirmishers of the 14th North Carolina, broke into High Street from Franklin Street and saw the flag. A short fight followed leaving the flag and

the dead body of its guardian in the hands of its captors.

Lieutenant Harney received a wound in the fight over the flag that proved to be mortal. Before his death he had the colors stripped from the staff which he enclosed with a message to Governor Vance of his State, the message stating that it was the flag of the *Sixty-eighth Michigan*. The flag was recovered at the end of the war and now rests in the State Capitol at Harrisburg.

The body of Frank Gutelius lies in the Pennsylvania Section of the National Cemetery at this place.

General Johnson's Division of General Ewell's Corps, after a march of 25 miles, arrived by the Gettysburg-Cashtown road at 8:00 p. m., found its army in possession of the town, but too late for a part in the battle. It was directed to the northeast of the town marching through a part of it and along the Gettysburg and York Railroad to the old toll-gate on the York pike where it formed a battle line fronting southwest its right resting on the York pike the left extending to the woods towards Wolf's Hill.

The divisions of Generals McLaws and Hood of Longstreet's Corps arrived during the night and slept at Marsh Creek at the point where the stream is crossed by the Gettysburg-Cashtown

pike 4 miles from Gettysburg, the corps commander riding in to General Lee's headquarters. General Pickett's Division, and Laws' brigade of Hood's Division of the same corps remaining at Chambersburg and New Guilford on detached duty.

General Anderson's Division of Hill's Corps slept that night in deployed line along Marsh Creek heights with a brigade and a battery a mile further south at Black Horse Tavern on the Fairfield road three miles from the town.

General Stuart who arrived with his cavalry divisions before Carlisle, received that night a dispatch from General Lee informing him of the fight that day at Gettysburg. He gave orders to his brigade commanders with a view to reaching the field early next day and left for Gettysburg that night.

"THE FISH-HOOK LINE."

The map on the following page (scale, 1000 feet to the inch), will show the position of the Federal lines to which they were forced by the concentration of the first day. Aided by circumstances, one army in its enemy's country was committed to a tactical offense that forced the other army into a position from which it could not be dislodged.

The shank of the fish-hook line was at the Round Tops, its barb at McAllister's Dam on Rock Creek, that included from right to left, Culp's Hill.....the Cemetery Heights..... Cemetery Ridge.....and Little Round Top, points within easy access to each other, and to the reserves.

Ward's and Graham's brigades of General Birney's Division arrive from Emmitsburg closing up with two batteries, in front of Swisher's Hill on Cemetery Ridge. Stannard's Vermont brigade from the defenses of Washington came in with this column and is at once assigned to Doubleday who returns to the command of his division, General Newton of the Sixth Corps is assigned to succeed the lamented General Reynolds.

General Williams' Division of the Twelfth Corps is sent to Wolf's Hill with two batteries; Kane's brigade of General Geary's Division of the same corps, is left, with a section of Kinzie's battery, on the same side of Rock Creek; the remaining brigades of Geary's Division (Greene and Candy) on Cemetery Ridge with Candy's left resting on the north slope of Little Round Top.

General Slocum, of the Twelfth Corps estab-

lishes his headquarters at Power's Hill on the Baltimore pike.

The Union Army under its new Captain has met, in its regular order of march, a largely superior force. Its advance is forced back by a fortuitous concentration of that force to a position admirably fitted by nature for defensive battle—that might have been occupied at noon without the loss and discouragement of a forced retreat at night.

One is almost sure that if General Reynolds had lived until that noon hour, he would have directed such a course after the check to General Hill's Corps at Willoughby's Run, and Buford's report of the gray columns that filled the roads from the north and northeast (Ewell's Corps).

SEMINARY RIDGE.

In possession of Seminary Ridge and its continuations north and south, General Lee chose it for his battle-line, committed to offensive battle in the struggle that is sure to follow. Warned by the attitude of his chief lieutenant, and the knowledge that the interior lines of the position that confronted him would be a sealed book to himself and his captains, such was his confidence in his army that he was led into the error of an attempt to encircle an army larger than his own

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in numbers and weight of metal, an error that he recognized later.

He establishes his headquarters at a point of vantage on the ridge near the Seminary buildings, and the night is filled with the orderly confusion of troops, and the chug-chug of artillery axles, marching and swinging into position.

He is confronted by an army he has known since Fair Oaks; the seven battles in front of Richmond; Cedar Mountain and Second Manassas; then Antietam (Sharpsburg) in Maryland; back again to Virginia at Fredericksburg and at Chancellorsville. Of the captains who commanded that army: Generals McClellan, Pope, again McClellan, Burnside then Hooker, he knew them all. He now meets the old army on its own soil commanded by a new captain whom he does not know so well, except that his subordinates have told him that he is an antagonist to be dreaded.

CHAPTER XXI.

Epilogue

EPILOGUE: I leave the story of the First Day of the Battles at Gettysburg with deep regret: It is practically the story of the old First Corps on this field. I was present at the birth of the old corps, my regiment a unit of its old "white division," the Pennsylvania Reserves—until the cavalry came to its own—sharing its triumphs and reverses.

Here, on this field, the old corps gave to the world its "Reason to be." The names of George Gordon Meade and John Fulton Reynolds will be associated with it as long as thoughts are expressed in pantomime or speech or read in books.

CHAPTER XXII.

Addenda

OFFICERS KILLED AND MORTALLY WOUNDED

AT GETTYSBURG

General Officers United States Volunteers

Maj. Gen. John F. Reynolds, Killed in McPherson's Grove
 Brig. Gen. Elon J. Farnsworth, In the woods at Big Round
 Top
 Brig. Gen. Stephen H. Weed, The crest of Little Round Top
 Brig. Gen. Samuel K. Zook, In the Wheat Field
 Brig. Gen. Strong Vincent, At Little Round Top

Note: In the list that follows the names of officers will
 be credited to the States which they served.

CONNECTICUT

Lieut. Col. Douglass Fowler17th Inf.
 On the Field (1st Day)
 Lieut. Col. Henry C. Merwin27th Inf.
 The Wheat Field
 Capt. James E. Moore17th Inf.
 On the Field (1st Day)
 Lieut. Jed. Chapman, Jr.27th Inf.
 The Wheat Field

DELAWARE

Lieut. William Smith1st Inf.
 With a Captured Flag in His Hands
 Capt. M. W. B. Ellegoode (Mor. Wd.)1st Inf.
 Lieut. Hamill W. Ottey2nd Inf.
 Killed in Action. 2nd. Day
 Lieut. George G. Plank2nd Inf.
 Killed in Action. 2nd. Day

INDIANA

Col. John Wheeler20th Inf.
 Killed on the Field. (Shot through the head.)
 Maj. Charles Lemmon3rd Cav.
 Killed in the Shultz Woods

Lieut. Crockett T. East,	19th Inf.
The Field of the 1st Day	
Lieut. Richard Jones	19th Inf.
The Field of the 1st Day	
Lieut. Ezra B. Robbins	20th Inf.
The Field of the 2nd Day	

MAINE

Capt. John C. Keene	3rd Inf.
In the Pitzer Woods	
Lieut. Chas. S. McCobb	4th Inf.
The Devil's Den	
Lieut. Orpheus Roberts	4th Inf.
The Devil's Den	
Capt. Oliver H. Lowell	16th Inf.
Oak Ridge. First Day	
Capt. S. C. Whitehouse	16th Inf.
Oak Ridge. First Day	
Lieut. Hiram R. Dyer	17th Inf.
Instantly. Second Day	
Capt. George D. Smith	19th Inf.
The Field. Second Day	
<i>(Mortally Wounded)</i>	
Maj. Eben Whitcomb	4th Inf.
The Devil's Den	
Lieut. George M. Bragg	4th Inf.
The Devil's Den	
Capt. Almon L. Fogg	17th Inf.
Carried from the field	
Capt. Milton M. Young	17th Inf.
The Devil's Den	
Lieut. Leroy S. Scott	19th Inf.
Cemetery Ridge	
Capt. Chas. W. Billings	20th Inf.
At Vincent's Spur	
Lieut. Warren L. Kendall	20th Inf.
At Vincent's Spur	
Lieut. Arid H. Linscott	20th Inf.
At Vincent's Spur	

MARYLAND

Lieut. Chas. E. Eader	1st Inf. P. H. B.
Culp's Hill	
Lieut. James T. Smith	1st Inf. P. H. B.
Culp's Hill	
Lieut. Jno. L. Willman	1st Inf. P. H. B.
Culp's Hill	
Capt. Henry Fenton	3d Inf. 3d Day
Culp's Hill	

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MASSACHUSETT

Lieut. Chris Erickson	9th Battery
Trostle House	
Lieut. Henry Hartley	1st Inf.
Roger's House	
Lieut. Col. Chas. R. Mudge	2nd Inf.
Spangler's Meadow	
Lieut. Henry V. D. Stone	2nd Inf.
Spangler's Meadow	
Capt. Edwin Humphrey	11th Inf.
The field of the 2nd Day	
Lieut. Chas. G. Russell	12th Inf.
Oak Ridge. First Day	
Lieut. Francis Thomas	12th Inf.
Killed in the town	
Col. George H. Ward	15th Inf.
Codori Buildings	
Capt. Hans P. Jorgenson	15th Inf.
Codori Buildings (Emmitsburg Road)	
Capt. John Murkland	15th Inf.
Codori Buildings	
Capt. Leander G. King	16th Inf.
Field of the Second Day	
Capt. David W. Roche	16th Inf.
Field of the Second Day	
Lieut. George F. Brown	16th Inf.
Field of the Second Day	
Lieut. Herman Donath	19th Inf.
Cemetery Ridge	
Lieut. Sherman S. Robinson	19th Inf.
Cemetery Ridge	
Lieut. Sumner Paine	20th Inf.
Cemetery Ridge	
Lieut. Henry Ropes	20th Inf.
Cemetery Ridge	
Lieut. William H. Barrows	32nd Inf.
The Wheat Field	
<i>(Mortally Wounded)</i>	
Capt. Thomas B. Fox, Jr.	2nd Inf.
Spangler's Meadow	
Capt. Thomas R. Robeson	2nd Inf.
Spangler's Meadow	
Lieut. W. B. Mitchell	11th Inf.
The field of the 2nd Day	
Lieut. Elisha G. Buss	15th Inf.
Codori Buildings	

Capt. Chas. R. Johnson	16th Inf.
The field of the 2nd Day	
Col. Paul J. Revere	20th Inf.
The field of the 2nd Day	
Lieut. Chas. K. Knowles	22nd Inf.
The Stony Point. 2nd Day	

MICHIGAN

Maj. Noah H. Ferry	5th Cav.
The Cavalry Field	
Lieut. Amos M. Ladd	1st Inf.
Stony Point	
Col. Harrison H. Jeffords	4th Inf.
The Wheat Field	
Capt. Peter Generous	5th Inf.
The Wheat Field	
Lieut. John P. Thelen	5th Inf.
The Wheat Field	
Lieut. Col. Amos E. Steele, Jr.	7th Inf.
At the High Water Mark	
Lieut. Albert Slafter	7th Inf.
Field of Second Day	
Lieut. William H. Borden	16th Inf.
Little Round Top	
Lieut. Butler Brown	16th Inf.
Little Round Top	
Lieut. Wallace Jewett	16th Inf.
Little Round Top	
Capt. M. J. O'Donnell	24th Inf.
Capt. William J. Speed	24th Inf.
Lieut. Gilbert A. Dickey	24th Inf.
*Lieut. Newell Grace	24th Inf.
Lieut. R. H. Humphreyville	24th Inf.
Lieut. Winfield S. Safford	24th Inf.
Lieut. Lucius L. Shattuck	24th Inf.
Lieut. Walter H. Wallace	24th Inf.
From Willoughby's Run through McPherson's Grove to the	
last bit of vantage ground on Seminary Ridge, this	
list of gallant soldiers fought as only the	
brave fight.	

*Note: A superior officer states in his official report of this regiment (24th Mich.) that Lieut. Newell Grace was one of the bravest men he ever knew.

MINNESOTA

Capt. Nathan S. Messick	1st Inf.
The Codori Thicket	
Capt. Louis Muller	1st Inf.
The Codori Thicket	

BATTLES AT GETTYSBURG 257

Lieut. Waldo Farrar1st Inf.
The Codori Thicket

(Mortally Wounded)

Capt. William B. Farrell1st Inf.

Capt. Joseph Periam1st Inf.

Lieut. B. Demarest1st Inf.

Lieut. Chas. H. Mason1st Inf.

The Codori Thicket and Pickett's Charge next day

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Capt. Joseph A. Hubbard2nd Inf.

The Peach Orchard—North

Capt. Henry N. Metcalf2nd Inf.

The Peach Orchard—North

Lieut. George W. Roberts2nd Inf.

The Peach Orchard—North

Col. Edward E. Cross5th Inf.

The Wheat Field—South

Lieut. H. A. L. French12th Inf.

Line of the Emmitsburg Road

(Mortally Wounded)

Lieut. William W. Ballard2nd Inf.

The Peach Orchard—North

Lieut. Edmund Dascomb2nd Inf.

The Peach Orchard—North

Lieut. Chas. W. Patch2nd Inf.

The Peach Orchard—North

Lieut. Charles Vickery2nd Inf.

The Peach Orchard—North

Lieut. Ruel G. Austin5th Inf.

The Wheat Field—South

NEW JERSEY

Capt. Thomas Kelly5th Inf.

Line of the Emmitsburg Road

Lieut. Henry R. Clark5th Inf.

Line of the Emmitsburg Road

Lieut. Chas. F. Walker7th Inf.

The Peach Orchard Line

Capt. A. H. Ackerman11th Inf.

Line of the Emmitsburg Road

Capt. D. B. Logan11th Inf.

Line of the Emmitsburg Road

Capt. Luther Martin11th Inf.

Line of the Emmitsburg Road

Capt. Chas. K. Horsfall12th Inf.

Bryan House—South

Lieut. Richard Townsend12th Inf.
Bryan House—South

(Mortally Wounded)

Capt. Edward P. Berry5th Inf.
Line of the Emmitsburg Road

Col. Louis R. Francine7th Inf.
The Peach Orchard Line

Capt. Andrew S. Davis8th Inf.
The Wheat Field

Maj. Phillip J. Kearney11th Inf.
Line of the Emmitsburg Road

NEW YORK

Capt. Jas. McKay Rorty1st Art.
Pickett's Charge

Lieut. F. J. T. Blume2nd Baty.

Lieut. Theo. Paush39th Inf.
Willard's Brigade

Lieut. W. H. H. Johnson40th Inf.
In the Gorge—Devil's Den

Lieut. Reinhold Winzer41st Inf.
East Cemetery Hill

Capt. Wm. H. Gilfillan43rd Inf.
Wolf's Hill, A. M. 3d

Capt. Lucius S. Larrabee44th Inf.
Little Round Top

Lieut. Eugene L. Dunham44th Inf.
Little Round Top

Maj. Edward Venuti52nd Inf.
Near Wheat Field

Lieut. Louis Deitrich58th Inf.
East Cemetery Hill (4 P. M.)

Capt. Henry V. Fuller64th Inf.

Lieut. Willis G. Babcock64th Inf.

Lieut. Alfred H. Lewis64th Inf.

Lieut. Ira S. Thurber64th Inf.
In the charge of Brooke's Brigade, 2nd Corps

Capt. George H. Ince66th Inf.
West of Wheat Field

Capt. Elijah F. Munn66th Inf.
West of Wheat Field

Capt. Otto Friedrich68th Inf.
Rock Creek. 1st day

Lieut. Andrew W. Estes71st Inf.
Peach Orchard Line

Capt. Eugene C. Shine73rd Inf.
Peach Orchard Line

BATTLES AT GETTYSBURG 259

Lieut. Wm. L. Herbert	73rd Inf.
Peach Orchard Line	
Lieut. Jas. Markman	73rd Inf.
Peach Orchard Line	
Lieut. George P. Dennen	73rd Inf.
Peach Orchard Line	
Maj. Andrew J. Grover	76th Inf.
McPherson's Ridge	
Capt. Robert B. Everett	76th Inf.
McPherson's Ridge	
Capt. A. N. Baldwin	80th Inf.
Capt. Joseph S. Corbin	80th Inf.
Lieut. G. W. Brankstone	80th Inf.
1st, 2nd, 3rd days	
Lieut. Col. James Huston	82nd Inf.
The Codori Buildings	
Capt. Jonah C. Hoyt	82nd Inf.
Lieut. Jno. H. McDonald	82nd Inf.
During the Sunset Charge of Wright's Brigade	
Capt. Thomas W. Quirk	83rd Inf.
Lieut. Chas. A. Clark	83rd Inf.
Oak Ridge, First Day	
Capt. Jno. H. Warner	86th Inf.
North of Devil's Den	
Lieut. Wm. McClelland	88th Inf.
The Wheat Field	
Lieut. William J. Morrin	97th Inf.
Oak Ridge	
Lieut. James H. Stiles	97th Inf.
Oak Ridge	
Capt. John Mead	102nd Inf.
Culp's Hill	
Lieut. Josiah V. Upham	102nd Inf.
Culp's Hill	
Lieut. Carl V. Amiet	108th Inf.
Lieut. Dayton T. Card	108th Inf.
Lieut. Robert Evans	108th Inf.
In support Woodruff's Battery in Zeigler's Grove. Third Day	
Lieut. John H. Drake	111th Inf.
In the Cannonade, 3rd Day	
Lieut. E. M. Granger	111th Inf.
The Codori Thicket	
Lieut. Aug. W. Proseus	111th Inf.
Leading a Charge (C. T.)	
Lieut. Emil Frost	119th Inf.
North of Town—1st Day	
Lieut. Matt. Roseman	119th Inf.
North of Town—1st Day	

Capt. Ayres G. Barker	120th Inf.
Capt. Lansing Hollister	120th Inf.
Lieut. Jno. R. Burhans	120th Inf.
Lieut. Jason Carle	120th Inf.
Lieut. M. E. Creighton	120th Inf.
Lieut. Fred. Freelewick	120th Inf.
Lieut. Edward H. Ketchum	120th Inf.

Second Day: Seven officers killed. The line of the Emmitsburg road south of the Rogers bds.—Humphrey's division of the Third Corps. A unit of the
Excelsior

Col. A. Van Horne Ellis	124th Inf.
Devil's Den—North	
Maj. James Cromwell	124th Inf.
Devil's Den—North	
Capt. Isaac Nicholls	124th Inf.
Devil's Den—North	
Lieut. Milnor Brown	124th Inf.
Devil's Den—North	
Col. George L. Willard	125th Inf.
The Codori Thicket	
Capt. Ephraim Wood	125th Inf.
The Codori Thicket	
Col. Eliakim Sherrill	126th Inf.
Zeigler's Grove	
Capt. O. J. Herendeen	126th Inf.
Codori Thicket	
Capt. Isaac Shimer	126th Inf.
Codori Thicket	
Capt. Chas. M. Wheeler	126th Inf.
Codori Thicket	
Lieut. Rufus P. Holmes	126th Inf.
Codori Thicket	
Lieut. Henry I. Palmer	134th Inf.
Coster Avenue	
Capt. Oscar C. Williams	137th Inf.
Culp's Hill	
Capt. Joseph H. Gregg	137th Inf.
Culp's Hill	
Lieut. Henry G. Hallett	137th Inf.
Culp's Hill	
Lieut. Jno. H. Van Emburgh	137th Inf.
Culp's Hill	
Col. Patrick H. O'Rourke	140th Inf.
Little Round Top	
Lieut. Guilford D. Mace	147th Inf.
Lieut. Sylvester J. Taylor	147th Inf.
Lieut. D. G. Van Dusen	147th Inf.

BATTLES AT GETTYSBURG 261

On McPherson's Ridge the morning of the First Day	
Lieut. Col. George Arrowsmith	157th Inf.
The Blocher Smithy	
Capt. John K. Backus	157th Inf.
The Blocher Smithy	
Capt. Harrison Frank	157th Inf.
The Blocher Smithy	
Lieut. Randall D. Lower	157th Inf.
The Blocher Smithy	
<i>(Mortally Wounded)</i>	
Capt. Chas. D. Follett	8th Cav.
The Cavalry Fight 1st day	
Lieut. Adolphe Wagner	39th Inf.
Willard's Brigade	
Lieut. Benjamin N. Thomas	44th Inf.
Little Round Top	
Capt. Edward Antonieski	58th Inf.
East Cemetery Hill	
Capt. Gustave Stoldt	58th Inf.
East Cemetery Hill	
Lieut. Co. Max Thoman	59th Inf.
The Sunset Charge—2nd Day	
Lieut. William H. Pohlman	59th Inf.
The Sunset Charge—2nd Day	
Lieut. Myron D. Stanley	60th Inf.
Culp's Hill	
Lieut. Franklin K. Garland	61st Inf.
The Wheat Field	
Lieut. Charles A. Foss	72nd Inf.
The Peach Orchard—North	
Lieut. Martin E. Higgins	73rd Inf.
The Peach Orchard Line	
Capt. William H. Chester	74th Inf.
Peach Orchard Line—North	
Capt. Robert Story	76th Inf.
Lieut. Phillip Keeler	76th Inf.
Lieut. Robert G. Noxon	76th Inf.
McPherson Ridge and east of the railroad cut. First Day	
Lieut. John Cranston	82nd Inf.
The "Sunset Charge" 2nd	
Lieut. Rush P. Cady	97th Inf.
Oak Ridge	
Lieut. Thomas Johnstone	104th Inf.
Oak Ridge	
Capt. Otto Trumelman	119th Inf.
1st day North of Town	

Lieut. Willam J. Cockburn	120th Inf.
Peach Orchard line—North	
Capt. Norman F. Weer	123rd Inf.
Culp's Hill	
Lieut. Jacob Sherman	126th Inf.
Second Day. Cemetery Ridge	
Lieut. Chas. P. Klein	140th Inf.
Little Round Top	
Lieut. Hugh McGraw	140th Inf.
Little Round Top	
Lieut. William P. Schenck	147th Inf.
The McPherson Ridge	
Lieut. Daniel McAssy	147th Inf.
The McPherson Ridge	
Capt. George A. Adams	157th Inf.
The Blocher Smithy	
Lieut. Joseph F. Henery	157th Inf.
The Blocher Smithy	

OHIO

Lieut. Addison H. Edgar	4th Inf.
On picket at Emmitsburg Road	
Lieut. Samuel J. Shoub	4th Inf.
On picket at Emmitsburg Road	
Lieut. H. C. Brinkman	5th Inf.
Edge of Pardee Field	
Lieut. Elijah Hayden	8th Inf.
On picket at Emmitsburg Road	
Lieut. Lewis E. Wilson	25th Inf.
North of Town. First Day	
Lieut. George Hayward	29th Inf.
A. M. 3rd. Instantly killed	
Lieut. John G. Marsh	29th Inf.
A. M. 3rd. Mortally Wounded	
Capt. James M. Reynolds	61st Inf.
North of Town. First Day	
Asst. Surg. Wm. S. Moore	61st Inf.
North of Town. First Day	
Capt. James C. Mulharen	75th Inf.
North of Town. First Day	
Capt. Mahlon B. Briggs	75th Inf.
North of Town. First Day	
Lieut. Stowell S. Burnham	82nd Inf.
North of Town. First Day	
Lieut. George W. McGary	82nd Inf.
North of Town. First Day	
Lieut. Phil C. Meredith	82nd Inf.
North of Town. First Day	

BATTLES AT GETTYSBURG 263

Lieut. Henry Jacoby82nd Inf.
North of Town. First Day

(Mortally Wounded)

Lieut. Dan. W. Williams61st Inf.
North of Town. First Day

Maj. Joshua G. Palmer66th Inf.
Culp's Hill

Capt. George W. Doherty73rd Inf.
Cemetery. West. Picket.

Lieut. Thomas Wheeler75th Inf.
North of Town. First Day

Capt. John Costen82nd Inf.
North of Town. First Day

Capt. W. D. W. Mitchell82nd Inf.
North of Town. First Day

Capt. Barnet T. Steiner107th Inf.
North of Town. First Day

PENNSYLVANIA

Lieut. John O. H. Woods11th Res.
In the charge—Wheat Field

Col. Chas. F. Taylor13th Res.
Edge of the Wheat Field

Lieut. Robert Hall13th Res.
In the charge—Wheat Field

Lieut. Joshua S. Garsed23rd Inf.
Culp's Hill—A. M. 3rd Day

Lieut. Benjamin R. Wright26th Inf.
Roger's House line—2nd Day

Lieut. Walter S. Briggs27th Inf.
With Coster's Brigade

Lieut. John Kuempel27th Inf.
Von Steinwehr's Div.

Lieut. Edward J. Harvey29th Inf.
Culp's Hill—night of 2nd

Lieut. John J. McKeever29th Inf.
Culp's Hill—A. M. of 3rd

Lieut. John D. Gordon56th Inf.
McPherson's Ridge—1st Day

Lieut. John F. Cox57th Inf.
Sherfy House—2nd Day

Lieut. Henry Mitchell57th Inf.
Sherfy House—2nd Day

Maj. William J. Lowry62nd Inf.
In the Wheat Field

Capt. Edwin H. Little62nd Inf.
In the Wheat Field

Lieut. Scott C. McDowell	62nd Inf.
In the Wheat Field	
Lieut. Josiah C. Mouck	62nd Inf.
In the Wheat Field	
Capt. Geo. W. McLearn	68th Inf.
At the Peach Orchard	
Lieut. Andrew Black	68th Inf.
At the Peach Orchard	
Lieut. John Reynolds	68th Inf.
At the Peach Orchard	
Lieut. Col. Martin Tschudy	69th Inf.
At the Angle.	
Capt. Michael Duffy	69th Inf.
At the Angle.	
Capt. Geo. C. Thompson	69th Inf.
At the Angle.	
Lieut. Chas. F. Kelly	69th Inf.
At the Angle.	
Capt. William H. Dull	71st Inf.
At the Angle.	
Capt. John M. Steffan	71st Inf.
At the Angle.	
Capt. Andrew McBride	72nd Inf.
At the Angle.	
Lieut. Sutton Jones	72nd Inf.
At the Angle.	
Capt. Anton Heilig	74th Inf.
North of Town. First Day	
Lieut. William Roth	74th Inf.
North of Town. First Day	
Col. Francis Mahler	75th Inf.
North of Town. First Day	
Lieut. Henry Hauschild	75th Inf.
North of Town. First Day	
Lieut. Louis Mahler	75th Inf.
North of Town. First Day	
Capt. John M. Sell	83rd Inf.
Little Round Top	
Chaplain Horatio S. Howell	90th Inf.
Steps of the College Church	
Lieut. John R. Nice	99th Inf.
Devil's Den Line—2nd Day	
Lieut. Geo. W. Crossley	105th Inf.
Sherfy House—North—2nd	
Lieut. William H. Smith	106th Inf.
Webb's Brigade	
Capt. Richard W. Davis	118th Inf.
Stony Point—The Loop	

BATTLES AT GETTYSBURG 265

Col. Richard P. Roberts	140th Inf.
Stony Point—The Loop	
Capt. David Acheson	140th Inf.
Stony Point—The Loop	
Lieut. Alex. M. Wilson	140th Inf.
Stony Point—The Loop	
Col. Robert P. Cummins	142nd Inf.
McPherson's Ridge—1st Day	
Capt. Charles H. Flagg	142nd Inf.
McPherson's Ridge—1st Day	
Lieut. Edward B. Hurst	142nd Inf.
McPherson's Ridge—1st Day	
Lieut. Chas. W. Betzenberger	143d Inf.
McPherson's Ridge—1st Day	
Lieut. Horatio F. Lewis	145th Inf.
Brooke's Brigade	
Lieut. Wm. H. Tourison	147th Inf.
Pardee Field—A. M. 3rd Day	
Capt. Robert M. Forster	148th Inf.
The Wheat Field	
Capt. Albert J. Sofield	149th Inf.
Railroad Cut—First Day	
Lieut. Chas. P. Keyser	150th Inf.
McPherson's Ridge—1st Day	
Lieut. E. D. Weidensaul	150th Inf.
McPherson's Ridge—1st Day	
Lieut. Aaron S. Seaman	151st Inf.
McPherson's Ridge—1st Day	
Lieut. Geo. A. Trexler	151st Inf.
McPherson's Ridge—1st Day	
Lieut. William H. Beaver	153rd Inf.
North of Town. First Day	
<i>(Mortally Wounded)</i>	
Lieut. Joseph H. Miller	16th Cav.
J. Irvin Gregg's Brigade	
Lieut. Frank H. Bird	26th Inf.
Roger's House Line—2nd Day	
Capt. James Brown	62nd Inf.
In the Wheat Field	
Lieut. Patrick Morris	62nd Inf.
In the Wheat Field	
Lieut. Lewis W. Ealer	68th Inf.
At the Peach Orchard	
Col. Dennis O'Kane	69th Inf.
At the Angle. 3rd Day	
Lieut. William Sill	75th Inf.
North of Town. First Day	

Lieut. Isaac A. Dunsten	105th Inf.
Sherfy House—North—First Day	
Lieut. Ferd. M. Pleis	106th Inf.
Webb's Brigade	
Capt. Jeremiah M. Sample	139th Inf.
Little Round Top (Accident)	
Maj. Israel P. Spaulding	141st Inf.
At the Peach Orchard	
Lieut. Andrew G. Tucker	142nd Inf.
McPherson's Ridge—1st Day	
Lieut. Lyman R. Nicholson	143rd Inf.
McPherson's Ridge—1st Day	
Capt. George Griswold	145th Inf.
Brooke's Brigade—2nd Day	
Lieut. George H. Finch	145th Inf.
Brooke's Brigade—2nd Day	
Lieut. John A. Bayard	148th Inf.
The Wheat Field	
Lieut. Henry Chancellor, Jr.	150th Inf.
McPherson's Ridge—First Day	

RHODE ISLAND

Lieut. Joseph S. Milne	1st Art.
(With Cushing at the Angle)	

UNITED STATES ARMY

Lieut. Manning Livingstone	3rd Art.
Emmitsburg Road Line	
Lieut. Alonzo H. Cushing	4th Art.
At the Angle	
Lieut. Bayard Wilkeson	4th Art.
North of Town. First Day	
Lieut. Chas. E. Hazlett	5th Art.
Little Round Top	
Lieut. Frank C. Goodrich	2nd Inf.
Wheat Field—Devil's Den Line	
Lieut. Wesley F. Miller	7th Inf.
Wheat Field—Devil's Den Line	
Lieut. William J. Fisher	10th Inf.
Wheat Field—Devil's Den Line	
Capt. Thomas O. Barri	11th Inf.
Wheat Field—Devil's Den Line	
Lieut. Herbert Kenaston	11th Inf.
Wheat Field—Devil's Den Line	
Lieut. Henry Rochford	11th Inf.
Wheat Field—Devil's Den Line	
Lieut. Silas A. Miller	12th Inf.
Wheat Field—Devil's Den Line	

BATTLES AT GETTYSBURG 267

Lieut. Wm. H. Chamberlin17th Inf.
Wheat Field—Devil's Den Line

(Mortally Wounded)

Lieut. George de V Selden2nd Cav.
Merritt's Brigade

Lieut. Christain Balder6th Cav.
Near Fairfield

Lieut. Geo. A. Woodruff1st Art.
Zeigler's Grove

Lieut. Richard R. Crawford7th Inf.
Wheat Field—Devil's Den Line

Lieut. Michael C. Boyce10th Inf.
Wheat Field—Devil's Den Line

Lieut. Amaziah J. Barber11th Inf.
Wheat Field—Devil's Den Line

Lieut. Edward S. Abbot17th Inf.
Wheat Field—Devil's Den Line

Capt. John P. BlinnU. S. V.
Asst.-Adj.-Gen. Harrow's Brigade

Capt. James J. GriffithsU. S. V.
Aide-de-Camp Gen. Howard's Staff

Lieut. George W. Sheldon1st
U. S. Sharpshooters

VERMONT

Lieut. William H. Hamilton14th Inf.
Pickett's Charge

(Mortally Wounded)

Lieut. John T. Sennott13th Inf.
Pickett's Charge

Lieut. Cyrus B. Lawton16th Inf.
Pickett's Charge

WEST VIRGINIA

Capt. William N. Harris1st Cav.

Lieut. Sidnier W. Knowles1st Cav.
Third Day—Extreme Left

WISCONSIN

Lieut. Wm. S. Winegar2nd Inf.
The McPherson Woods

Capt. John Ticknor6th Inf.
Railroad Cut. First Day

Lieut. Orrin D. Chapman6th Inf.
Railroad Cut. First Day

Capt. William Smith26th Inf.

Lieut. Martin Young26th Inf.
First Day—North of the Town

(Mortally Wounded)

Lieut. Col. George H. Stevens2nd Inf.
McPherson's Grove. First Day

A SUPPLEMENTAL LIST

OFFICERS KILLED OR MORTALLY WOUNDED.

Major William H. Medill8th Ill. Cav.
Williamsport, Md., July 6th.

Lieut. George S. Kimball1st Me. Cav.
Middleburg, Va., July 19th.

Lieut. Mark Neville1st Me. Cav.
Middleburg, Va., July 19th.

Lieut. Ephraim H. Taylor1st Me. Cav.
Middleburg, Va., July 19th.

Lieut. Jacob A. Metz1st Md. Cav.
Williamsport, Md., June 15th.

Lieut. James S. McIlhenny1st Mich. Cav.
Fairfield Gap, Pa., July 4th.

Capt. William R. Elliott1st Mich. Cav.
Fairfield Gap, Pa., July 4th.

Capt. Chas. J. Snyder1st Mich. Cav.
Hagerstown, Md., July 6th.

Lieut. Aaron C. Jewett6th Mich. Cav.
Williamsport, Md., July 6th.

Capt. Peter A. Weber6th Mich. Cav.
Falling Waters, Md., July 14th.

Capt. David G. Royce6th Mich. Cav.
Falling Waters, Md., July 14th.

Lieut. Chas. E. Bolza6th Mich. Cav.
Falling Waters, Md., July 14th.

Lieut. Alexander Gall5th N. Y. Cav.
Hanover, Pa., June 30th.

Lieut. Elam S. Dye5th N. Y. Cav.
Hanover, Pa., June 30th.

Lieut. Horatio H. Boyd10th N. Y. Cav.
Middleburg, Va., June 19th.

Lieut. Bronson Beardsley10th N. Y. Cav.
Middleburg, Va., June 19th.

Lieut. Edward S. Hawes10th N. Y. Cav.
Middleburg, Va., June 19th.

Lieut. Michael S. Slothower87th Pa. Inf.
Bunker Hill, W. Va., June 13th.

Lieut. William W. Williams5th U. S. A. Art.
Smithsburg, Md., July 5th.

BATTLES AT GETTYSBURG 269

Lieut. Joseph A. Chedel, Jr.	1st R. I. Cav.
Middleburg, Va., June 18th.	
Capt. William C. Lindsey	18th Pa. Cav.
Hagerstown, Md., July 6th.	
Capt. John W. Woodward	1st Vt. Cav.
Hagerstown, Md., July 6th.	
Lieut. Irvin C. Swentzel	1st W. Va. Cav.
Hagerstown, Md., July 6th.	
Lieut. Henry W. Clark	1st W. Va. Cav.
Monterey Gap, Pa., July 4th.	
Captain Benjamin Price	70th N. Y. Inf.
Lieut. James Short	74th N. Y. Inf.
Lieut. Chas. S. Preston	74th N. Y. Inf.
Wapping Heights, Va., July 23d.	
Captain Francis M. Kreager	1st Md. Cav.
Brandy Station, Va., June 9th.	
Lieut.-Col. Virgil Brodrick	1st N. J. Cav.
Brandy Station, Va., June 9th.	
Major John H. Shelmire	1st N. J. Cav.
Brandy Station, Va., June 9th.	
Col. Benjamin F. Davis	8th N. Y. Cav.
Brandy Station, Va., June 9th.	
Capt. Benjamin F. Foote	8th N. Y. Cav.
Brandy Station, Va., June 9th.	
Lieut. Henry C. Cutler	8th N. Y. Cav.
Brandy Station, Va., June 9th.	
Lieut. William J. Robb	10th N. Y. Cav.
Brandy Station, Va., June 9th.	
Capt. Charles B. Davis	6th Pa. Cav.
Brandy Station, Va., June 9th.	
Capt. Charles W. Canfield	2nd U. S. Cav.
Brandy Station, Va., June 9th.	
Lieut. Isaac M. Ward	6th U. S. Cav.
Brandy Station, Va., June 9th.	
Lieut. William W. Phillips	6th N. Y. Cav.
Brandy Station, Va., June 9th.	
Lieut. Benjamin C. Efner	8th N. Y. Cav.
Brandy Station, Va., June 9th.	
Lieut. James E. Reeves	8th N. Y. Cav.
Brandy Station, Va., June 9th.	
Lieut. John R. King	10th N. Y. Cav.
Brandy Station, Va., June 9th.	
Maj. Alpheus Clark	8th Ill. Cav.
Brandy Station, Va., June 9th.	
(?) Capt. John G. Smith	8th Ill. Cav.
Brandy Station, Va., June 9th.	
Lieut. Calvin S. Douty	1st Me. Cav.
Aldie, Va., June 17th.	

Capt. George J. Summat	1st Me. Cav.
Aldie, Va., June 17th.	
Lieut. A. F. Martensen	2nd N. Y. Cav.
Aldie, Va., June 17th.	
Lieut. Daniel Whittaker	2nd N. Y. Cav.
Aldie, Va., June 17th.	
Maj. Benjamin C. Stanhope	6th Ohio Cav.
Aldie, Va., June 17th.	
Lieut. John G. Smith	8th Ill. Cav.
Upperville, Va., June 21st.	
Capt. Judd M. Mott	16th Mich. Inf.
Upperville, Va., June 21st.	

NOTE: The above supplemental list of officers killed and mortally wounded occurred in the advance and retreat of the Confederate Army in the Pennsylvania campaign exclusive of the battles at Gettysburg.

RETURN OF CASUALTIES IN THE UNION FORCES:
THREE DAYS AT GETTYSBURG.
JULY 1863.

General Casualties (Three Days)	Killed		Wounded		Missing		Totals
	Officers	Men	Officers	Men	Officers	Men	
General Headquarters ...	...	....	2	2	...	....	4
First Army Corps	42	624	262	2,969	83	2,079	6,059
Second Army Corps ...	66	731	270	2,924	13	365	4,369
Third Army Corps	50	543	251	2,778	14	575	4,211
Fifth Army Corps	23	337	129	1,482	1	210	2,187
Sixth Army Corps	2	25	14	171	...	30	242
Eleventh Army Corps ..	33	336	120	1,802	62	1,448	3,801
Twelfth Army Corps ..	18	186	43	760	2	64	1,082
Cavalry Corps	5	86	39	315	8	399	852
Artillery Reserve	2	41	15	172	...	12	242
Total	246	2,909	1,145	13,384	183	5,182	23,049

General return of the casualties of the Army of the Potomac from June 3d, to August 1st, 1863, that includes the approach and retreat to and from Gettysburg by the Army of Northern Virginia:

The three days at Gettysburg	23,049
Exclusive of Gettysburg	8,994

Total casualties 32,043

These figures give us the total Union loss in officers and men for the entire campaign from June 3d to August 1st, 1863.

BATTLES AT GETTYSBURG 271

FROM THE OFFICIAL RETURNS FOR

JUNE 30, 1863

<i>Commands</i>	<i>Present for duty equipped</i>				
	<i>Infantry</i>		<i>Artillery</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>Officers</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Officers</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Aggregate</i>
General Headquarters	50	.....	...	....	50
Provost Guard	84	1,445	...	....	1,529
Engineer Brigade ..	40	906	...	....	946
Guards and Orderlies	2	47	...	....	49
Signal Corps	6	.....	...	....	6
First Army Corps ..	687	8,716	21	598	10,022
Second Army Corps.	927	11,436	14	537	12,914
Third Army Corps .	796	10,451	19	658	11,924
Fifth Army Corps ..	797	11,157	8	547	12,509
Sixth Army Corps ..	986	13,530	33	1,006	15,555
Eleventh Army Corps	549	8,648	15	629	9,841
Twelfth Army Corps	521	7,672	12	384	8,589
Artillery Reserve ..	....	.....	72	2,139	2,211
*Cavalry Corps ....	....	.....	...	....	.....
Total	5,445	74,008	194	6,498	86,145

*This return was made but two days before the battles at Gettysburg began: The report of "present for duty equipped" does not appear in the return of the Cavalry Corps.

FROM THE OFFICIAL RETURNS FOR

JULY 4, 1863

<i>Commands</i>	<i>Strength, July 4, 1863</i>				
	<i>Infantry</i>		<i>Artillery</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>Officers</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Officers</i>	<i>Men</i>	
First Army Corps					
First Division	144	1,458	...	....	.....
Second Division ...	124	906	...	....	.....
Third Division ...	144	2,125	...	....	.....
Art. Brigade .....	....	.....	12	517	.....
Total	412	4,489	12	517	5,430
Second Army Corps					
First Division	152	1,694	...	....	.....
Second Division ...	170	1,807	...	....	.....
Third Division ...	209	2,422	...	....	.....
Art. Brigade .....	....	.....	...	475	.....
Total	531	5,923	...	475	6,929
Third Army Corps					
First Division	225	2,765	...	....	.....
Second Division ...	213	2,367	...	....	.....
Art. Brigade .....	....	.....	16	544	.....
Total	438	5,132	16	544	6,130
Fifth Army Corps					
First Division	237	3,235	...	....	.....
Second Division ...	188	2,834	...	....	.....
Third Division ...	201	2,414	...	....	.....
Art. Brigade .....	....	.....	14	430	.....
Total	626	8,483	14	430	9,553
Sixth Army Corps					
First Division	287	3,886	...	....	.....
Second Division ...	215	3,209	...	....	.....
Third Division ...	281	3,947	...	....	.....
Art. Brigade .....	....	.....	29	978	.....
Total	783	11,042	29	978	12,832
Totals carried forward					40,874
Eleventh Corps					5,513
Twelfth Corps					9,757
Grand Total					56,144

BATTLES AT GETTYSBURG 273

Commands	Strength, July 4, 1863				
	Infantry		Artillery		Total
	Officers	Men	Officers	Men	
Totals brought forward					40,874
Eleventh Army Corps					
First Division	66	1,116	...	....	....
Second Division ...	127	1,982	...	....	....
Third Division ...	108	1,620	...	....	....
Art. Brigade .....	....	....	10	484	....
Total	301	4,718	10	484	5,513
Twelfth Army Corps					
First Division	275	4,088	...	....	....
Second Division ...	167	3,287	...	....	....
Lockwood's Brigade	83	1,379	...	....	....
10th Maine Inf. ...	6	164	...	....	....
Art. Brigade .....	....	....	9	299	....
Total	531	8,918	9	299	9,757
Grand Total ...	3,622	48,705	90	3,727	56,144

(E, and O, E.) Two days before the battles at Gettysburg, the official field returns show the effective strength of the army "present and equipped for duty" to be 86,145 officers and men.

The day following the battle, (July 4, 1865), a similar return was called for and made showing the then effective strength of the army to be 56,144 officers and men: The First, Second, Fifth and Eleventh Corps reporting as "present for duty," the Third Corps as "effective strength," and the Twelfth Corps as "for duty equipped."

It will be noted that General Headquarters, the Cavalry Corps, and Artillery Reserve are not reported. It will be noted that the brigades of Generals Stannard and Lockwood, arriving from the defenses of the Capitol and not engaged the first day, were attached to the First and Twelfth Corps respectively, which must be borne in mind by the student in the comparison of these two returns.

SKETCH MAPS: The purpose of these maps is to show approximately the positions and changes of the contending lines in the several battles of this field.

Grateful acknowledgement is due to an old comrade of a regiment of the Pennsylvania Reserves at Camp Pierpoint, Va., in 1861, (Captain Emmor B. Cope, of the headquarters division at Langley, Va.).

Later, he became the Engineer of the Battlefield Commission at Gettysburg, and to him we are indebted for much that is thorough and beautiful on this field. Personally, I am indebted to his courtesy for a blue-print of the physical conditions of this field before the battles here prepared under his direction as Engineer of the Battlefield Commission during the regime of the Hon. Elihu Root, then Secretary of War.

This useful blue-print gives every physical feature of the battlefield before the battles began on a scale of 600 feet to the inch, and came to be of great use to the author of this work. Lieut.-Colonel Cope is still with us at the ripe old age of ninety-three years, bright as a new dollar from the belt up.*

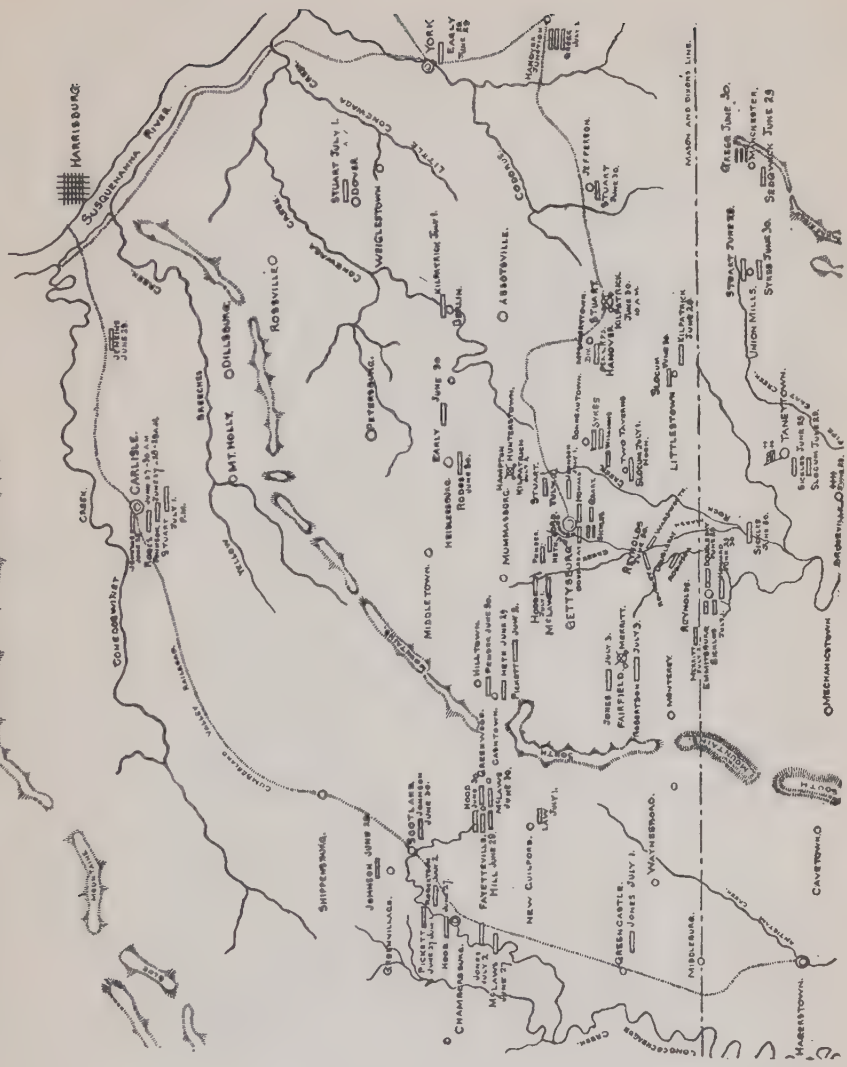
For other lines of 1,000 feet to the inch I am indebted to the "Warren Maps," the original survey made by Major-General G. K. Warren in 1868-1869. The survey was ordered by Major-General A. A. Humphrey's, Chief of Engineers. Both Generals Warren and Humphreys were in the battles here.

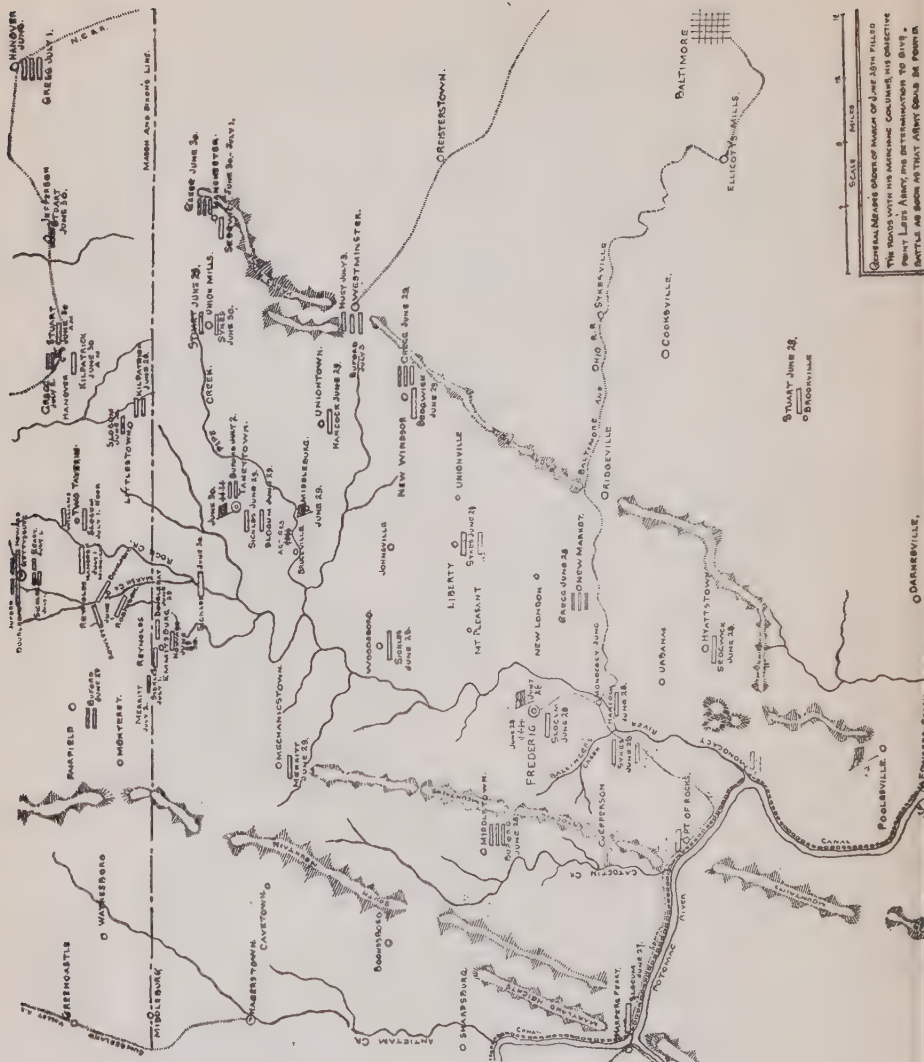
Three maps (for 1st, 2d, and 3d days) were reduced from one on a scale of 200 feet to the inch, deposited in the office of the Chief of Engineers. With other data compiled by Mr. John D. Batchelder, Boston, Mass., gathered from official reports, consultations on the field, private letters, and oral explanations of the officers of both armies, these maps were given to the public.

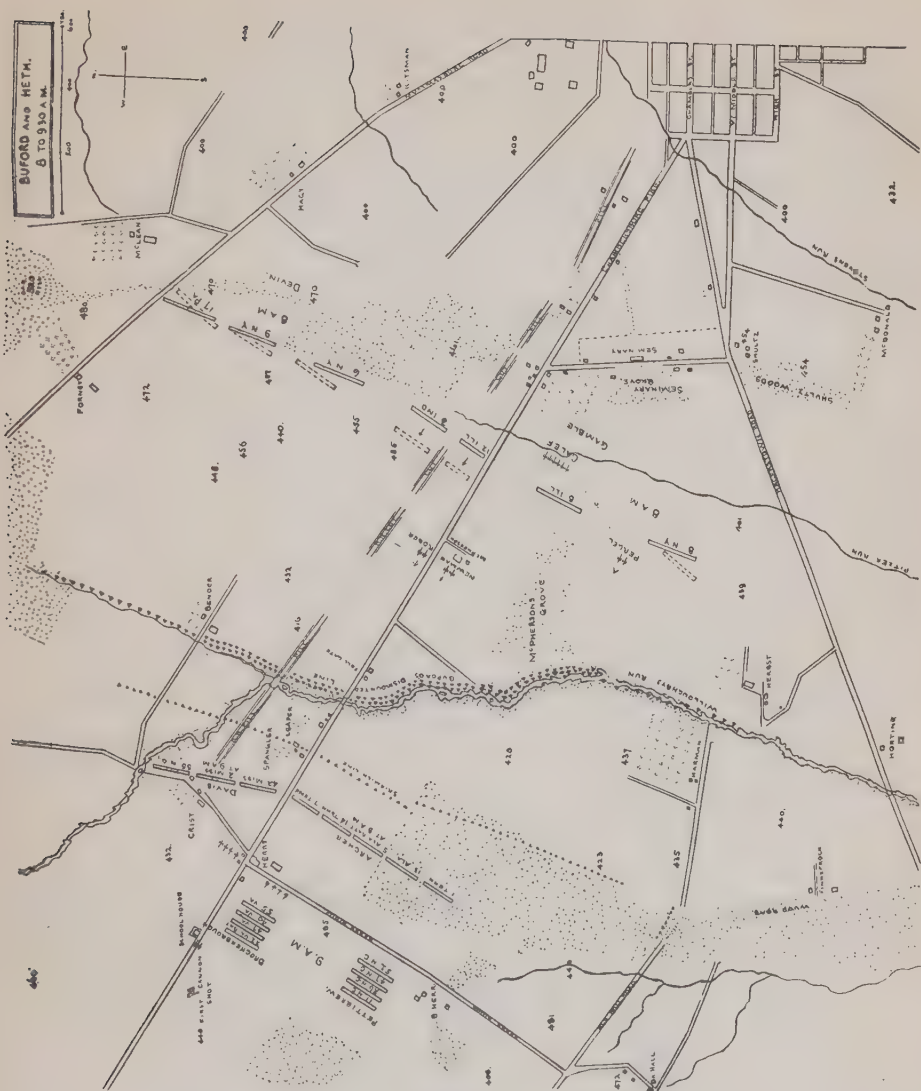
JAMES K. P. SCOTT.

** Since these lines were written Colonel Cope has been called Home.*

GENERAL LEE'S ORDER OF MARCH FOR
JUNE 29TH WOULD HAVE ASSEMBLED
HIS ARMY AT GASSTOWN. "CIRCUIT"
STAGE AND A.P. HILL BECKED OTHERWISE.

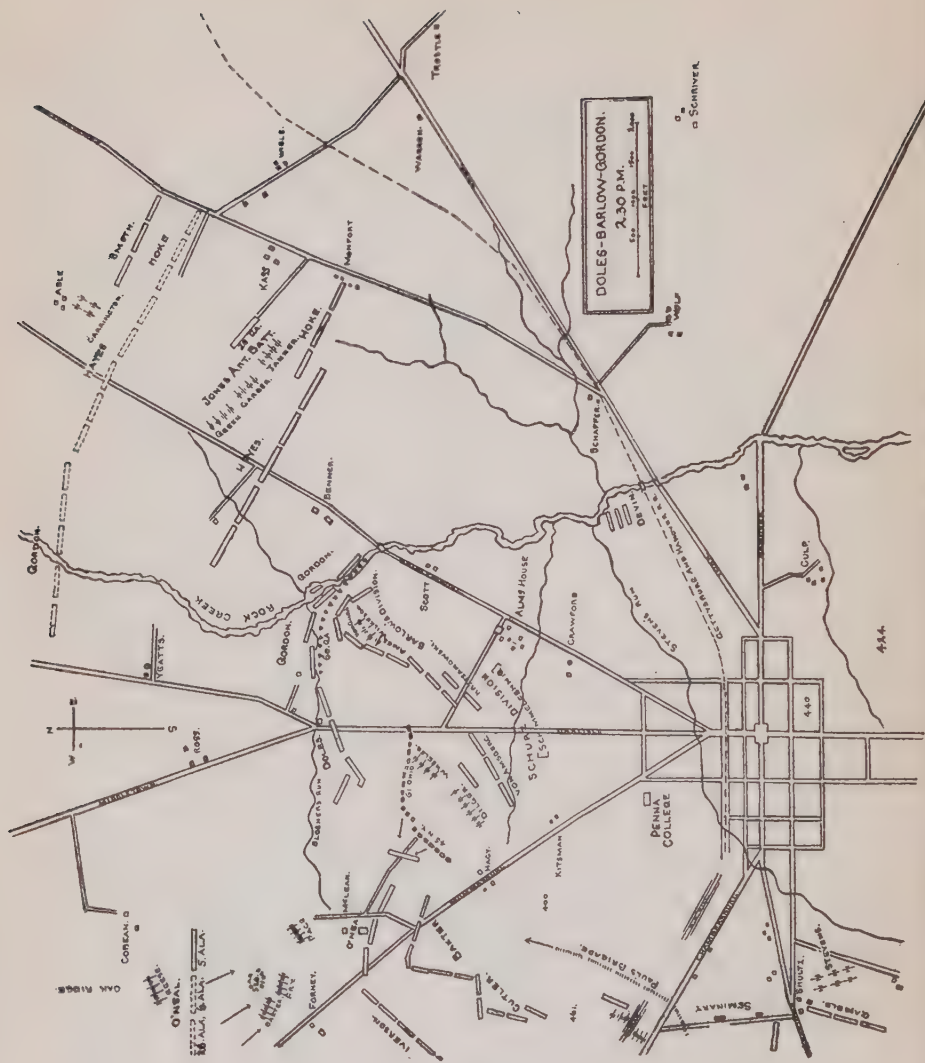


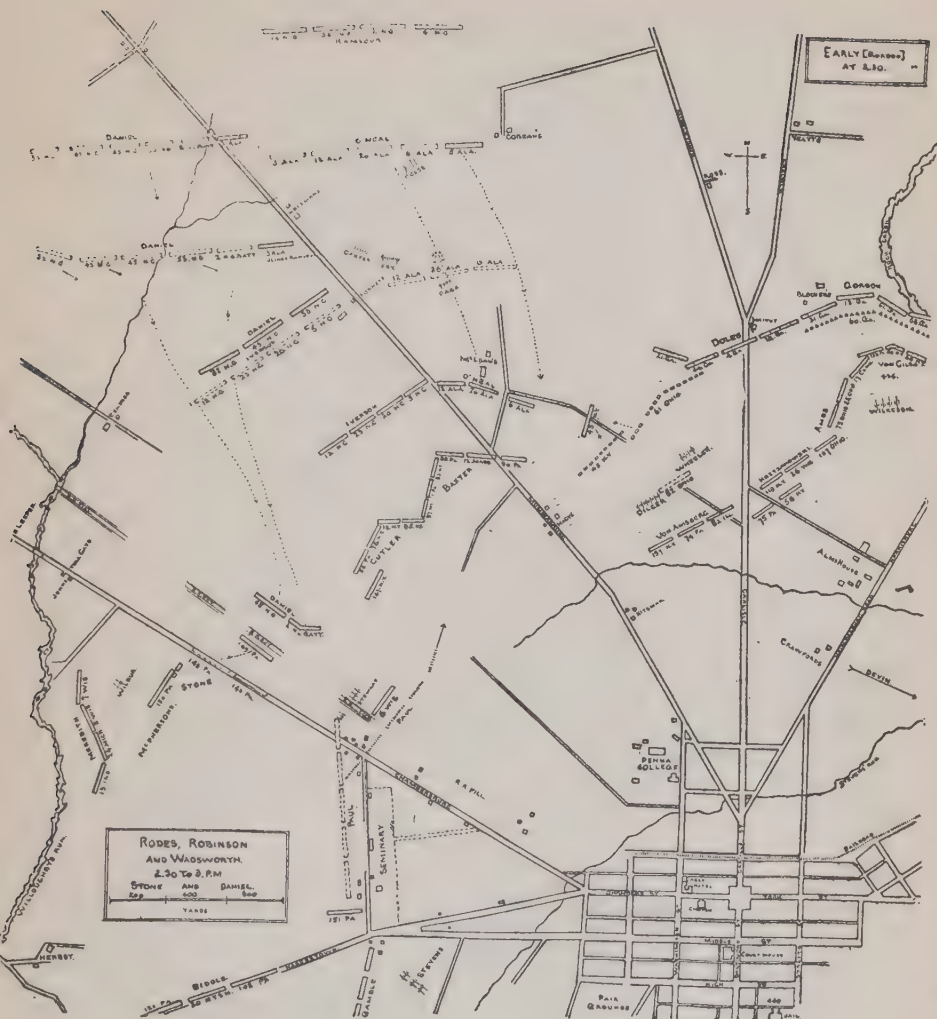


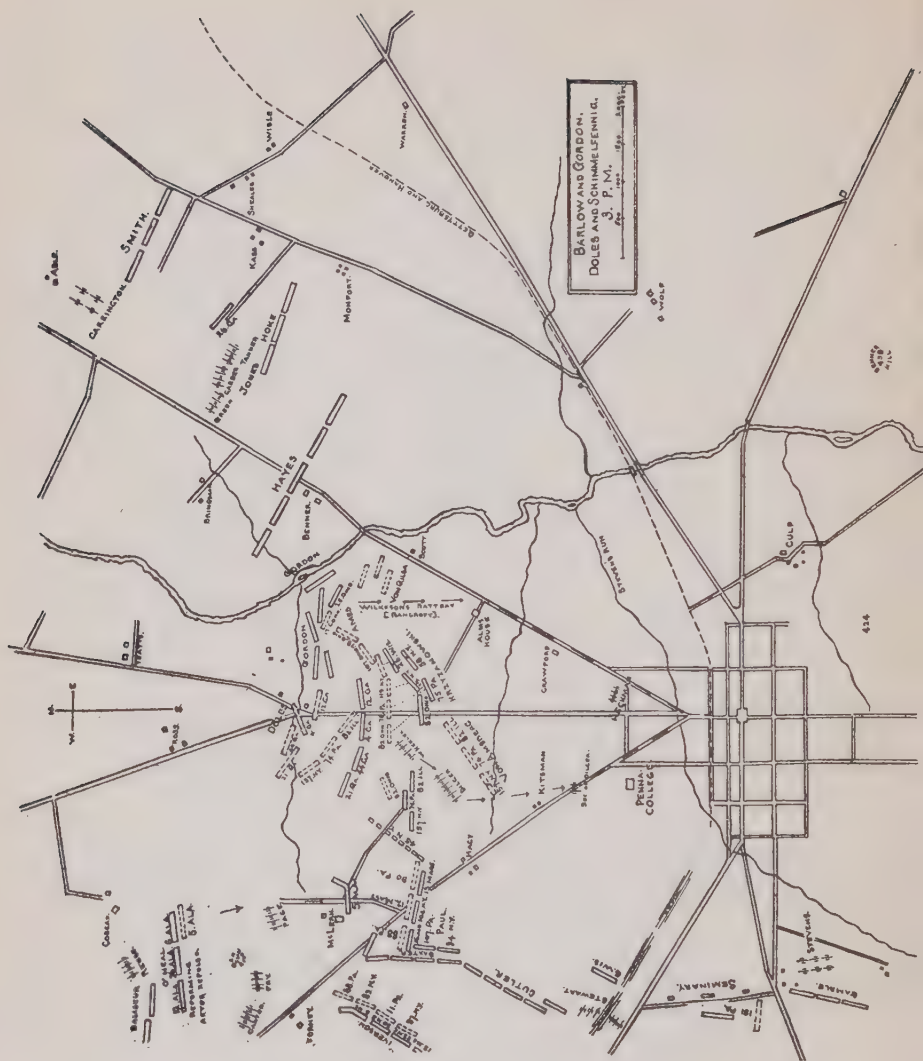


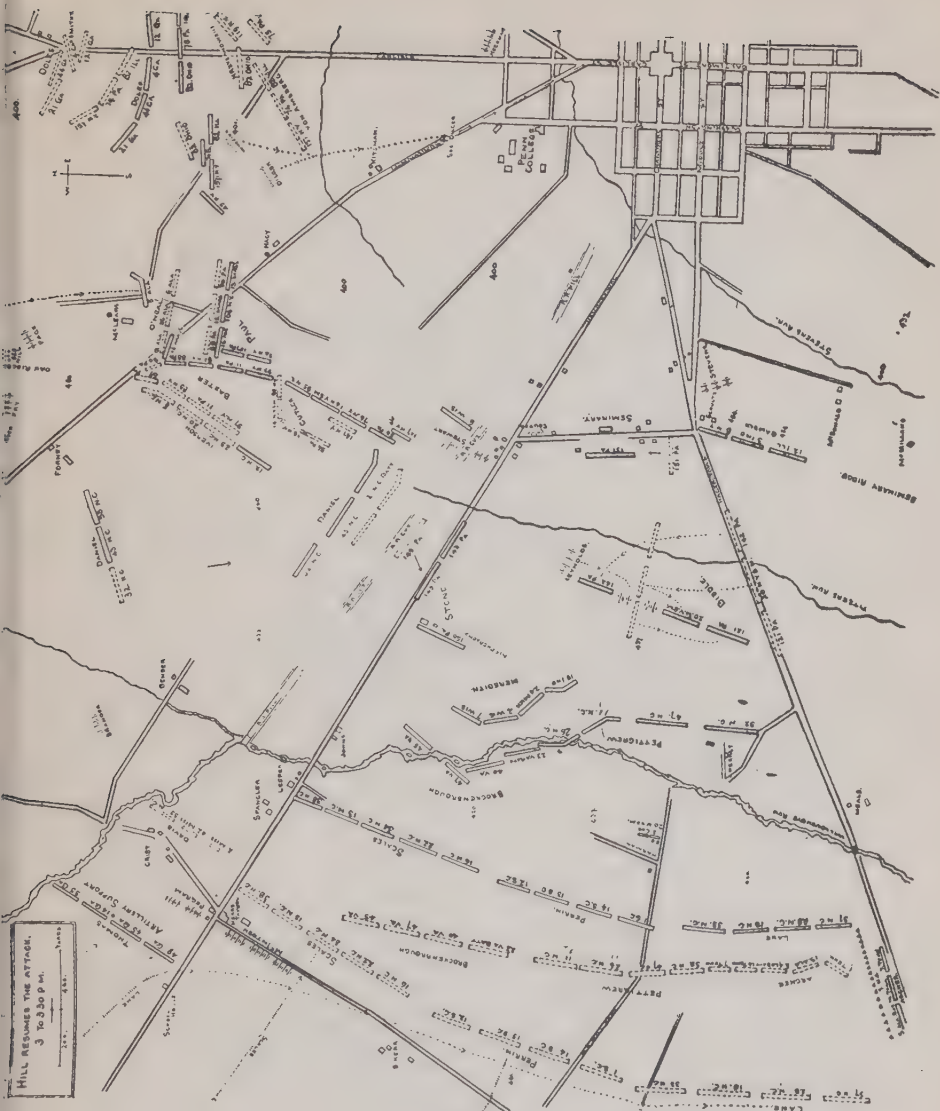
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
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